

**INSIDE: A VIOLENT END TO PAKISTAN'S FRAGILE PEACE**

# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 1, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

SEPTEMBER 5, 1986 VOL. 30 NO. 35

## COVER

### Sex and censorship

Some censored Canadians fear that a new wave of pornography may soon engulf the nation. And it has brought it on. From some feminists and civil libertarians for stricter censorship. But censorship still swirls in the wake of the strong new anti-pornography measures proposed last June in Bill C-114 by then justice minister John Cross. —Page 36

CONTINUED BY JOHN H. H. H.



### Steps up from steerage

As controversy over the Tonks' arrival in Canada—after being picked up from lifeboats—renewed across the nation, the refugees struggled to begin a new life. —Page 6



### Tremors in the vaults

A year ago Canada's worst banking crisis swept across the country. The panic has subsided—but in the West, some financial institutions are still in trouble. —Page 28



### Dark days in Pakistan

The arrest of Benazir Bhutto and 1,800 other opposition leaders sent angry mobs into the streets to demand fresh elections and President Zia's resignation. —Page 16



### Almost instant recognition

Shirley Schuur's brief career has already made her a Cover Girl. But real fame for the 19-year-old Canadian model means being recognized in Bloomington's. —Page 46

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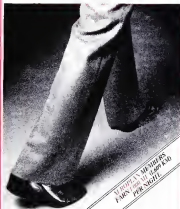
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## Assistance not requested

Your article "A war on cocaine," (World, August 4) states that Peru has requested U.S. military help against drug traffickers. I would like to point out that my country has never requested such assistance from the United States. In fact, Peru has promised and signed the "Rodrigo Lara Bonilla" agreement, an accord among all five member-nations of the Andean Pact. The signing of this agreement is fully concordant with the hard stance taken by President Alan García to fight against drug trafficking since he took office on July 28, 1985.

—ORGAN MARTIN,  
Ambassador, Peru,  
Ottawa

## Standing up for an exemption

In your recent interview with R.B. Bryce ("A mandate reflects," Q&A, August 4), he stated that the tax exemption for those over 65 is nonsense. It is nonsense for civil servants whose pensions are fully indexed. But for those of us who are retired from private industry, and whose pensions are not indexed, it is still nonsense, but for a different reason. It should of course be indexed to compensate at least in a small way for the continually decreasing value of our pensions.

—JOHN KENDRICK,  
Lockport, Que.

R.B. Bryce is way off base when he calls the tax exemption for Canadians over 65 nonsense. Only someone who has spent all his working days expatriated in the ivory towers of Ottawa would make such a fatuous statement. Many who are now pensioners worked long years at low-paying jobs with no pension plans and little chance to save for the future. The entire exemption is necessary to help pensioners try to cope with inflation and constantly rising prices.

—IAN CROCKETT,  
Toronto

Before the government gives R.B. Bryce's "illy suggestion" a second thought, it should look at the indexed pensions that public servants receive. According to the Consumer Price Index, inflation has risen approximately 216 per cent since 1976. This means that if Bryce received a pension of \$50,000 when he retired, he now receives \$63,286, whereas the private company retiree who also received a \$50,000 pension in 1976 still receives \$50,000 today. If I am correct, I agree that a tax exemption for Bryce is silly.

—D.Y. WOODS,  
St. Lawrence, Que.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence in, letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Mail Box 5500, 111 King St., Toronto Ont. M5W 1A7.

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## Exquisite affairs

The 1966 French film *A Mase and a Woman* was an unexpected late-1960s-bombad, simple love story that became one of the most popular movies of that decade. Directed, photographed and written by Claude Lelouch, it starred Anouk Aimée as a young, widowed script girl who met a jinx in love with a widowed racing-car driver, played by Jean-Louis Trintignant. The movie won the Cannes Film Festival's Golden Palm Award (*Palme d'Or*), at that year's Cannes Film Festival. This special *Lelouch* released *A Mase and a Woman* 30 Years Later, with the same stars. The script girl is now a film producer and the racing-car driver is a race executive. Its popularity may recall that of the original. It opens in Toronto this fall. Madeline's correspondent Madeline Miller interviewed Lelouch at Anouk's home in Paris.

**Maclean's:** Why did you decide to make the movie?

Lelouch: I have wanted to make a sequel since the film obtained the Palme d'Or 20 years ago. It first started out as a

joke. We said to each other, 'Bend Sinister in 30 years to make the sequel,' just for a laugh. But then I thought about it again, seriously about five years ago and co-edited *Jean-Louis and Amek*. Essentially, I wanted to make an optimistic film as a follow-up: the characters have more experience—they love, but with more anguish. I think the two films should be considered as one.

**Maclean's:** 1961 North Americans like this film so much so they enjoyed the death?

**Leibach:** I just came back from Los Angeles, where I took part in a lot of sneak previews and they went very well. I think

**Hulceen's:** Critics accuse you of only being able to make one kind of film. Are they right?

**Leleouche** writes reproach me for only smiling: a 'leleouch'—but I am given a lot of money to make a 'leleouch'. People either love my work or they detest it. An artist is either hated or loved. But an artist is not a politician; he should not be engaged in politics. When I became an artist I made a choice. I don't try to seduce my enemies. If I did, I would betray my friends. An artist has to be everything but a politician. *Endless*

**Meisner's:** You have said that you and François Truffaut represent the French cinema tradition. What is that tradition?

Leleuch, Truffaut represents French tradition more than myself. Truffaut follows Jean Renoir.

**Maclean's:** Why do you often work with the same actors in your films?

**Letach:** I make films with my friends, I live with my friends. This way, I am less unhappy than my colleagues.

**MacQueen's:** Have you always made the films you wanted?

**Debra:** I have always done what I wanted to. Even my bad

films—I want them in-  
tently as my own. And I  
know I have never entire-  
ly succeeded in making  
the film for me—my-  
self. I know I have made  
good film sequences, but  
I dream of making that  
perfect film. I have de-  
cided to dedicate my life  
to making that film. Be-  
sides, my private life is  
tormented, so my films re-  
flect that. But my enthu-  
siasm for the business  
remains.

**Musker's:** In 20 Years Later one of your characters says, 'It's a simple story which should have stayed simple.' Is that a prophetic statement about this film?

**Leisner:** Yes, it's a bit prophetic. That's what is so exciting. For the moment, the film is ahead of its time. And perhaps that is why I'll see it more and more. Just

becoming a bit more complicated because I have seen too many films and have made too many films. The audience sees fewer films than we [the directors] do. So at a certain point we take distance from each other. It is obvious that [Italian film director Federico Fellini] is becoming an asnercheron, but his writing

ing to public buses, I risk distancing myself from the public.

Magellan's. Which of your films is the best?

**Leleouch:** A director cannot easily answer that type of question. I always like to think it's my last. You feel you have gone further with the last. Perhaps a film which seemed successful to me may not be the same for the public. The public likes entertainment, pleasure: the public likes to be flattered, not insulted. When people are united in the dark, they dream and feel they are the strongest, most beautiful, most intelligent. They do not like to be insulted.

**Mickson's:** Are American movies over-saturating the European film industry?

**Lebanon:** In the 26 years I have been ranking films, there has always been a criss. When I told my father thirty years ago that I wanted to make movies, he said, 'Son, there is a criss.'

**Maclean's:** What do you like most about your world?

**Lehoucq:** What is the most interesting for me is that element of the unmeasurable. It is the things I cannot rehearse in Deauville [France, where scenes in both films were shot], on the beach, it was the light. That light which suddenly came up and without which the beach would be nothing. Don't be mistaken, mistakes are the direct result of work.



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## Comfort for AIDS victims

**B**lood dripping into his this arm through a plastic tube, a 38-year-old man lay dying in Toronto General Hospital. He was suffering from Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, AIDS, the fatal condition that destroys a person's ability to resist disease. The purple

lesions on his face were evidence of the cancer, his labored breathing a sign of the pneumonia wearing his body. At his bedside, watching him eat a banana popicle, was a young Dominican priest, dressed in blue jeans and a T-shirt. For almost a year, Stephen Manning, 35, was the

patient's "body"—one of a growing number of volunteers who befriended sufferers of AIDS, a condition which affects mainly homosexuals. Support groups for AIDS sufferers throughout North America use the term body to describe a system of pairing a helper to a victim. The patient, who requested anonymity because of the stigma attached to his condition, told Manning: "If I didn't have Stephen, I wouldn't have made it this far. He has been more than a brother."

The body system requires devotion and strength, and both are evident in the young priest. Faith and religion have always been the central theme of Manning's life. A member of a large New York Irish Catholic family, he moved to Toronto in 1981 to pursue postgraduate studies in divinity and theology at the University of Toronto. Three years later he joined the Dominican Order and in 1984 was ordained a priest. Because he is gay, he has been involved with issues concerning the homosexual community in Toronto for more than six years. Manning has since counselled people with AIDS, as well as their families and friends, and conducted their funerals.

But his relationship with the dying young patient—an exclusive one—was at the core of his involvement. After the two were paired by the AIDS Committee of Toronto (ACT), they met regularly for a smoke or a coffee. That, said Manning, was the beginning of an "extraordinarily intimate relationship of a very strange kind, since both of you know from the beginning that one of you is going to die." Three months ago Manning helped the victim dress up a will and confronted the difficult task of finding a funeral home willing to take him. Funeral homes may legally refuse to take the corpse of people who have died of AIDS. Manning visited him nearly every day in the hospital. The fact that Manning is a priest helped the homosexual patient to reconcile his Catholic faith with his sexuality. "According to the church, homosexuality is sinful," Manning said. "But it is God's decision alone to save or damn someone."

Although he knew him for only six months, Manning said that he lost a friend when his partner died on August 15. ACT officials insist that bodies such as Manning take an indefinite sabbatical before being paired again with another patient. Still, said Manning, "some people say the suffering is God's judgment, and I say, you bet the judgment is not on the sick. It is on the rest of us and how we respond to them."

—NANCY RITTS in Toronto



The Houses of Parliament

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### FOLLOW-UP

## Donations for life

**F**or months Canadians joined out their sympathy to tiny Lindsay Sherbardi and her determined young parents. The frail Malton, Ont., lady suffered from lithium toxicity, a disease that forces life to back up onto the liver and usually kills its victims before they reach their second birthday. Lindsay's slim hope for survival depended on the donation of a healthy liver to replace her diseased one—and on her ability to withstand a complex transplant operation. In December, 1985, aware that one out of four children die while awaiting a donor, James and Christine Sherbardi appealed through the media for a donor. John Blackford, then Ontario's Minister of government, also endorsed Lindsay's cause. Lindsay finally obtained the transplant, but the publicity surrounding the operation did not lead to an expected surge in donations to research agencies.

In February, 1985, officials at Boston's Children's Hospital, one of the six U.S. hospitals that then performed the operation, notified the Sherbards that they had located a possible donor. The family hurriedly flew to Boston, where two teams of surgeons worked 19th hours to give Lindsay the liver of a young Massachusetts girl who had been declared brain-dead after an automobile accident. Now fully recovered, Lindsay will return to Boston for periodic checkups, and she will need antiepileptic medication for the rest of her life.

For two years the Canadian Liver Foundation has been operating at a deficit, which is now up to an astronomical \$800,000. As a result, the energetic four-year-old, along with Toronto's Blue Jays catcher Rick Martens, is participating in a fund-raising drive. Said newly appointed foundation director Ralph Hawes: "We committed funds to research, thinking that the money would just come in. It didn't."

Help for some of Canada's young biliary stress victims is now more accessible, however. Last April, Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children was given government funding to perform the \$100,000 operation. But the difficulty of procuring permits to donate the organs remains. Said Christine Sherbardi: "The thought that another child had to die as Lindsay could have her chance always upset me."

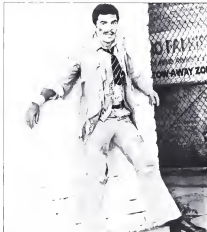
—ANN FERGUSON in Toronto

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## COLUMN

# Summer's junk food for thought



By Charles Gordon

**T**he summer has revealed a need to persuade Canadians to stop improving themselves. Canadians are endless self-improvers and can't stop doing it even when they are supposed to be on vacation. They sit on the dock and read books allegedly written by Canadian politicians. They read books with the word "excellence" on the cover.

In extreme cases, they have newspapers delivered to the dock and read them, from front to back, editorial pages and all. After their allotted three weeks or four, they come back with a tanned head, but with the same old thoughts in it.

The difficulty stems from their inability to take a break from self-improvement. The way to read a newspaper in the summer is to go right to the sports page, without guilt, and then to the weather. Read out if like Spenser, if it will rain tomorrow, and then throw the rest of the newspaper away.

This has to do with the weakness of profound thoughts. About as profound as you want to get is to wonder whether or the people who eat junk magazines on their docks to make fun of had twice know they paid more for their drawings than the people who bought them years ago because they liked them.

Another pernicious thought is whether you left your books and your sunglasses in the same place.

As for book titles, the trick is to avoid words like "excellence" and go for words like "memories." It is also permissible to consult a reference book to find out the Latin name of the thing that just bit you.

Summer is the time to find out what new authors Travis McGee and Spenser have been at it, what new bit of "excellence" is coming. It is also the time to read the new American and Canadian, in paperback, so as not to get the latest novel-stuffing, tanning secret around all over expensive pages.

Take thousands of time, refusing to throw away the Festival section, where have learned the art of junk reading with clear conscience. The secret is to write the sea of useful information in the stuff you want to read anyway.

It's there, make an outline for example. Spenser, Robert B Parker's Boston detective, usually does something, in great detail, while he ponders

the case. Rather than dangle him as a wriggle, the author of knowledge on the dock could take a lesson. In his latest book (latest manuscript, always, latest in paperback), Spenser doesn't read anything, but his love, Susan Silverman, manages some corn bread, described step-by-step in Chapter 46 while Spenser and his friend Hawk decide how to kill somebody.

(Interestingly, Spenser kills an ageing summer of people in this book, leaving the reader to wonder whether there is an inverse relationship between killing and reading. On a dock, this could pass as a profound thought.)

Earlier in the book, Spenser reminds that "Huckle's stew tastes very much like beef stew," and later Hawk notes that baby oil is just the thing for clearing the salt water corrosion of a 387, whatever a 387 is.

Hein Henrichs, in *Book a Pole*

**The way to read a newspaper in the summer is to go right to the sports page, without guilt, and then to the weather pages**

Here, gives a good definition of deconstruction, for those of us who always confuse it with transformation. "It includes a fact or two to make a story credible, then adds the distortions."

The valuable information goes on and on, even in Canadian books, in case you were worried about that. In Anthony Ryd's suspense novel *The Red Fox*, two of his characters engage in an interesting discussion of postcolonial adoption status. Nor is the subject of useful information confined to the genre novel. In *20 Great Moments* by Margery Atwood, in *The President's Tale*, that we learn (if we needed to learn it) that the traditional diatribe call of "Huckley" comes from the French "huckle."

The big American serious summer paperback, John Irving's *The Cider House Rules*, is not just a useless bunch of literature either. Right there on page 126 we are told the symptoms of the dramatic enterprise, as well as some recommendations for treating it. ("Cut out, i.e., reduction of fluid intake...")

John Le Carré, in *A Perfect Spy*, tells

you how to enter a room you are not supposed to be in. "Tread lightly," she tells herself, remembering her training. If you have to make a noise, make a bold one." It is from Le Carré also that we learn that "its standard intelligences proceed to continue transmitting whether or not the party is listening at the other end."

Le Carré's contemporary, Jeffrey Archer, lets us know that government members of Parliament "went by the phone for a few days after a general election. "If the phone hasn't rang by then, they remain on the back benches."

Closer to home, the alert dock reader can glean, from the great *Shivers* by Lawrence Sanders on the occasion of Atlantic City: "A grand hotel billboard out on the highway used their slots paid out over 68 million dollars last month. Yeah? And how much of it did the suckers get back if they didn't suck?"

Book Which brings us to the leading source of book knowledge, John D. MacDonald's Travis McGee. Criticized lately by feminists for a patronizing, if polite, approach to women, McGee also stands accused of being a know-it-all. The average McGee book is going to tell you exactly what to use for this, precisely what to buy for that and specifically what is wrong with just about any aspect of society you want to name.

In *The Lonely Silver Bear*, McGee lets you know what brand names of audio equipment he put into his houseboat, what kind of catapult he has in his two-ton runabout, and lots more, including a few words on driving a car.

"The expert driver comes out into the passing lane when he is at least 15 car lengths from the vehicle he is passing. Then he cuts move back without realizing it is just a good idea to pass. Okay, by he makes his angle of return to his lane as long and gradual as is consistent with what is proud and of him. The good driver takes his feet off the gas when there is anything ahead he does not understand."

Later, McGee warns us that, gas out and acts in a crude sort of way, killing people and without, but the driving lesson was useful, wasn't it? And the guy on the next dock, reading the stock market, will miss it, and Susan Silverman's corn bread, too! Isn't summer grand?

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

# Preparations for a new life

In Montreal they lined up patiently in subway stations to be photographed for two passes in Toronto they pointed over a lunch tray to the words "in an alien language. As the cloud of mystery that shrouded their bizarre odyssey slowly lifted, the full story—serious violence at home, hopelessness in a European sanctuary and misery on the high seas—emerged. But only days after their lifeline floated into Canadian waters off the coast of Newfoundland, 150 Sri Lankan Tamils last week began the painstaking task of starting their lives anew.

Almost immediately, however, the newcomers faced another obstacle: a tempestuous public debate over their right to remain in Canada. In an emotional outcry channelled through radio phone-in shows, letters to newspapers and petitions to elected representatives, hundreds of Canadians lashed out at the Tamils for short-circuiting the regular immigration process. And they attacked the immigration system itself as grossly unfair and hopelessly mired in red tape.

Some irate callers denounced the refugees for lying about their voyage's point of origin—the West German port of Brake, not India. Others lambasted federal officials for allowing the Tamils to enter. Still other voices raised sweeping questions about Canada's immigration policies—how to understand, harder to enforce. Said Joe Cannon, host of Montreal radio station CHOI's call-in program, "Exemption" was introduced at the university of the calls. It was like a wave of resentment."

But amid growing concern that nations lay just below the surface of many complaints, the classic message last week seemed to be that Canadians were confused about the laws, policies and procedures that govern the influx of newcomers to their country, projected to reach 115,000 this year. Caught between a rock and a hard place, although Liberal Leader John Turner promised the speed with which the Tamils were granted the ministerial permits that allow them to live and work in Canada.

type of thing would happen again and again."

As the backlash reverberated, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said flatly that the refugees would be allowed to stay. In his first public comment on the controversy, Mulroney said, "Canada was built by immigration and refugees, and those who serve its lifelines will not be turned away." It was a statement of principle that both oppo-



Weiner swatting questions about immigration policy

sition parties were obliged to refuse, although Liberal Leader John Turner promised the speed with which the Tamils were granted the ministerial permits that allow them to live and work in Canada.

Describing the Tamils as "frustrated human beings searching for freedom and opportunity," Mulroney dismissed suggestions from several MPs that his decision would tempt other refugees to enter Canada illegally. Refugees who have been unable to get into the country through proper channels, he said, should continue to apply. "That's exactly the way 80 per cent of the people get here, and this is no way ought to diminish your faith in the system," he insisted. "We want more immigrants, not fewer."

Throughout the week federal officials were on the defensive. While they tried to clarify the Tamils' position under Canadian law, they sought to assure Canadians that the new immigrants would not be allowed to "jump the queue" of refugees awaiting permanent residency. And playing a full investigation of the case, Minister of State for Immigration Gerry Weiner defended the speed with which the Tamils were granted the permits, citing Canada's "legal and international obligation" to consider their claims. Ottawa, Weiner said, had "acted fairly and clearly within the bounds of Canadian law."

But the junior minister stressed that the newcomers will not, and cannot, be granted permanent residency until they pass medical, security and criminal checks. And Weiner said the investigation could lead to tighter rules for refugee claimants.

Under current policy, which adheres to the United Nations convention on refugees, claimants raised in danger must be deported to homelands where their lives may be in danger. Nations outside the convention, including countries in Sri Lanka, are currently on the list. But Weiner said this blanket approach might not treat "everybody as fairly as I'd like to see them treated. I have some concerns about the way the program that were country-by-country. If I had my way, it would be more case-by-case."

An immigration department spokesman, Gerry Mulvey, added that the Tamils' claims would be reviewed by a new refugee system in place sometime next year. Weiner's remarks about the refugees



Jeyatharan with wife, Annelis, and son, Thibbeeran, with shared misunderstanding

policy drew a sharp response from many church and immigrant groups. Members of more than 20 human rights, church and ethnic organizations convened in Toronto at midweek to voice concern that the public outcry could undermine Canada's humanitarian policies toward refugees. "The reason people use the back door is that the front door gets them into so much bureaucratic hassle," said Anne Squire, newly elected moderator of the United Church of Canada. Other observers cited recent Amnesty International reports of arbitrary detention and torture of Hindu Tamil prisoners in Sri Lanka jails—victims of that country's ongoing civil war with the Buddhist Sinhalese majority.

But it was the seemingly recent undertone of many opinions that dis-

turbed Mrs. Said New Democratic Party immigration critic Don Innes. Anger properly directed at our immigration system is being dumped onto the Tamils because of their brown skins. It might not have happened if they had white skins." Other MPs and they shared their constituents' anger that the Tamils had continued to be about their past of embarkation after they reached Canada on Aug. 11. Said Conservative MP Dr. Robert Horner (Mississauga North), denouncing the decision to admit the Tamils: "We recent claims for help based on deceit."

Interviewed in Montreal last week, one refugee family said they "felt bad about lying" and feared that some Canadians still considered them liars even after they had told the truth.

"We are worried about that," and Kumantharan Jeyatharan, 35, who with his wife and 11-month-old son shares a one-bedroom apartment in the city's Côte des Neiges district with another Tamil family. "People don't understand our problems."

In fact, many observers agreed that one key underlying factor in the debate was widespread misunderstanding of the Tamils' situation. Said Toronto immigration lawyer Barbara Juckman, who often acts for refugee claimants: "If people knew how difficult it is for refugees to find a country of resettlement, we would not have a backlash."

Much of the anger emanated from Canadians who have been trying for years to bring family members to Canada through closed immigration channels. Said Calgary West Tory MP James Hniden, chairman of the Commons committee on labor, employment and immigration: "It has become very clear that Canadian immigration policy is a mess. There are many people who had to fight like the devil to get here." But Hniden cited one positive benefit of the Tamil fiasco: a long-overdue public dialogue on Canada's immigration policies.

But in that debate gathered momentum, many parties convened in West Germany, officials detained and then released two Sri Lankans and a Turk in connection with the group's departure. At the same time, the Sri Lankans admitted involvement in smuggling the Tamil passage, but a police spokesman said that there were no legal grounds for keeping them in custody. Hamburg police, meanwhile, were investigating whether the controversy was victims of an international smuggling ring that planned to ferry other refugees in Canada. They also recalled the return of Wolfgang Buehl, the German sea captain accused of charging the Tamils the equivalent of \$250,000 to transport them to Canada on his ship, the 325-ton, Hansa-registered *Auriga*.

By week's end, 42 of 41 newcomers had found jobs in Toronto. Indeed, for many of the Tamils, the principal goal is simply to prosper. "I want to make money," said Jeyatharan.

For the moment, the new arrivals must make do with modest housing and jobs in Toronto factories, Montreal's garment industry or other low-wage sectors of the economy. Still, as all 153 of the Tamils would be citizens discovered last week, it was a long step up from storage.

—ANN FINLAYSON with BRUCE WALLACE and DAN STUBBS in Montreal and ALAN HARRIS in Ottawa

# Mulroney waters down a fire storm

Brian Mulroney flew home to his home last week, insisting, he said, "he just wanted to be home." Accompanied by his wife, Milla, and their 11-month-old son, Nicolas, the Prime Minister was armed with a lighter-than-air agenda—meeting with constituents of his far-flung Quebec riding, opening a new port in Sept.-Dec. and, relaxing in preparation for next month's return of Parliament. Asked to state the purpose of his visit, Mulroney said, "I'm hoping to get re-elected in Montserrat."

But the Prime Minister's Challenger aircraft had barely touched down before his plans for leisurely down-home politicking ran afoul of crude political reality. In St. John's, Mulroney confronted a new Gallup poll that showed his Conservative government trailing the opposition Liberals in popularity by eight percentage points. In Sept.-Dec. he faced charges from Alberta Premier Don Getty that Ottawa was ignoring the West. And in every town and village along Quebec's North Shore, he found hard-pressed residents looking for new signposts of job-creating federal aid. "Business is not what it once was," said Ernie Huesel, a 39-year employee of Cargill Ltd., a grain storage and handling company located in St. John's. "The economy is in a desperate part. We are counting on Brian to help us."

But the Conservatives have already directed \$308 million—including a \$60-million parliamentary aid—into Montserrat since the Tories won the Sept. 4, 1984, federal election. And apart from opening a new wharf at Pointe Noire near Sept.-Dec., the Prime Minister had no new offers of federal assistance. Besides, Mulroney could not escape the constant tension of national politics. A Gallup poll taken in mid-August showed the Tories trailing the Liberals 43 to 38 per cent (the New Democrats were at 24 per cent). The gap between the government and the opposition was even wider in Quebec, where the Conservatives won 58 seats in 1984. Although Mulroney predicted he would improve on that total in the next election, party organizers have privately told Maclean's that they would be satisfied with between 30 and 35 Quebec ridings.

The decline in popular support was even evident in St. John's. Despite good weather, local radio advertising and the offer of \$1000 out of five cars imported from southern Quebec, a Mulroney event must attract only 400 residents. Later, a more appreciative crowd

greeted the Prime Minister in Sept.-Dec., a city with an unemployment rate of 38 per cent, when he arrived for the official opening of the \$30-million Pointe Noire wharf, a controversial project initiated by the Liberals in 1983. Critics claim that the area is well served by port facilities in Sept.-Dec. But supporters say that the new facility will allow the city to decrease its dependence on shipping routes—which faces declining global demand.

Mulroney was also under attack from



The Prime Minister with workers at Pointe Noire, Que. "counting on Brian"

another defender of Conservative ideology: Alberta's Getty. In a speech to the Canadian Bar Association in Edmonton, the premier said separatism was again becoming a force on the prairies, because Westerners perceived that federal policies were tilted against them—and in favor of Central Canada. In response, Mulroney retorted that "this is a difficult country to govern." But he added, "Leadership requires a determination to resist the easy temptation to blame the neighbors."

Both Alberta and Quebec will be critical testing grounds for Mulroney later this month. Mulroney, through the traditional Reformist mandate for a government, the Tories face Sept. 29 legislation in Alberta's Pembina and Quebec's St.-Maurice. Party to gain support in Quebec, Mulroney last week agreed to provide Theresa's Sparx, a large-scale aid with \$50 million to build satellite communities at a plant in suburban Montre-

al. He also scheduled a high-profile cabinet meeting in Montreal and vigorously defended his record of federal spending in Montserrat. "Some people seem to think it's funny that I would spend money on airports," he said Friday in St.-Augustin. He maintained that the lack of sophisticated airport equipment—later installed by his government—had actually cost lives. "I'll show you," Mulroney said. "I'll introduce you to some widows in this village." The widow the Prime Minister referred to,

Karen Maclean, lost her husband, John, last year when he was injured during a recreational vehicle and log rafting rescue plan off the St.-Augustin runway. Said the widow: "If the airport was done, probably my husband would have been saved."

But the Tories are not expected to win in St.-Maurice. The riding is a longtime Liberal stronghold, formerly held by Jean Chrétien. Recent polls have shown the NDP at a historic high in Quebec of 27 per cent—and some observers say the Tories might not reach there last week the entire Quebec. They expect that in St.-Georges-de-Matane, 82 km south of Quebec City, where a candidate Mulroney again declared that Conservative strength in the province was undiminished. The St.-Maurice vote may measure the accuracy of that claim.

—BRUCE WILKINSON in St. John's

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## Campaigning against hate

**S**light, bearded and soft-spoken, Terry Long operates a small timber mill in the village of Carleton Place, 100 km northwest of Calgary. But the White Pride teacher's esp work by the 40-year-old electrical engineer points to his other better-known role: Long is Canadian leader of the Arya Maitra, a neo-Nazi group based in the backwoods of Idaho, which professes that Jews are so toxic that the children of Satan deserve Long "international connections, finance capabilities and international resources are three heads of the same snake."

Normally, most Albertans would agree such racism. But Long's plan to establish an Arya Maitra camp on the banks of the Clearwater River eight kilometres west of Caroline has persuaded many that he must be stopped. Minded of last year's execution of Eric Starvo Galt, a teacher known for his anti-Semitic, anti-gay and anti-Jewish activities, a coalition of Christians, Jewish and community groups has launched a campaign to alert the public about the proposed 80-acre camp. "People are extremely outraged," said Hal Jeff, president of Calgary's Citizens Against Racism and



Long 'just like any other church camp'

hypocrite discrimination. Added Calgary filmmaker Lawrence Ryckman, whose 85-minute documentary *The Arya Maitra* paints a frightening picture of the group. "These guys are dangerous. Something's going to happen if they're left unchecked."

Ryckman's film reveals an organization with a history of extremism and violence. Founded in 1938, the Arya Maitra is the secular arm of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, which has its headquarters in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Both arms are led by Rev. Richard Clinton Barker, 68, whose Christian Identity movement teaches that whites are God's chosen people. Barker's aim is to establish an all-white homeland in the northwest United States. Violence erupted in 1984 when some Arya Maitra members split off to form the Order, a paramilitary group dedicated to establishing Barker's racist state.

Before the last member of the Order was arrested in 1986, it had carried out a string of armed robberies and other violent crimes—including the machine-gun killing of Denver talk-show host Alan Berg, a Jew. Since the Order's demise, the Arya Maitra has continued its paramilitary tradition. At the group's World Congress in Hayden Lake in July, gun-toting men patrolled the

campsite with automatic rifles.

Alberta Attorney General James Horneham has said that the government will take action if Long tries to create his own private army, but Long denies any such plans. The outpost, he says, will be "just like any other church camp." Visitors will stay in a bunkhouse built for 20, and receive Christian Identity services and study the movement's philosophy. Long has already established a 30-volume library which includes such dubious works as *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* by Jeffrey Hottel and *The Blood of the Thousand* by Prof. Arthur Butz. Says Long: "All the books in my library are banned. Otherwise I wouldn't read them."

Long traces his attraction to Christian Identity to his experience as a young man in Sacramento, Calif., where he first encountered what he calls the "colored races." But Long "I saw them for what they were—they're different people." Another reason for Long's conversion was his disappointment with the Alberta separatist movement in the early 1980s, when he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Western Canada Concept in the 1982 provincial election.

Long still has few followers. Filmmaker Ryckman estimates that the Arya Maitra's Canadian membership stands at no more than 25. Long himself refuses to say how many people reside at the Caroline camp, but the only building is a wood-frame house where he lives with his wife, Elaine, and three children. At the site's entrance, a blond security guard equipped with binoculars scans approaching vehicles. Nonmembers are not welcome.

But U.S. authorities say that the Hayden Lake camp had steadily moved backwards. Capt. William Barker of the sheriff's office in Kootenai County, Idaho, said he has watched the nearby Arya Maitra outpost move from a modest camp to a 20-acre compound with electric fence and a meeting hall decked with swastikas. With a total North American membership estimated by Barker at 6,000, the group attracts thousands to its yearly congress—a growing number of them Canadians. In a country that protects freedom of speech, Barker says, there is only one way to control such extremist public education. "The community for a long time didn't think any way or another about it," he said. "Then it became sensitized. Laying it open has loosened the fear."

Alberta groups are following Barker's advice. The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews has requested a series of "sensitivity dialogues" on the Arya Maitra, and a number of

groups have urged CBC TV to broadcast Ryckman's film. Last week opponents brought their challenge. Long's doorstep when they screened the film for a crowd of 500 in Sandoz, just 20 km from the camp. Led by Rev. Robert Chesser of nearby Regina Mennonite Church, the crowd of 500 solemnly sang 60 Canada before watching the grim documentary. Afterward, Chesser remarked, "I feel as though I've just awoken from a nightmare."

The Jewish Defence League planned to confront Long directly. At the league's national director, Meir Harel,

arrived in Kootenai from Toronto last week, 200 member David Strauss predicted, "Some very nasty surprises for Mr. Terry Long." Whatever action they take, antidiscrimination groups will face the same quandary as in the Kootenai case: raising awareness about racist organizations also awards them free publicity. But Long's opponents are convinced the trouble is worthwhile. Said Ryckman: "The average person sees bigotry as mild and docile like Archie Bunker. They're not."

—MARKUS GEE with JOHN HANSEN in Calgary

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Steven, Rowe, Cropper; Vander Zant (below): governments have sought solutions to the problem for years

## Ethical conflicts over guidelines

The revelation raised serious ethical questions. It was obtained from witnesses appearing last week at the inquiry into conflict-of-interest allegations against former Industry minister Sinclair Stevens by commission counsel David Scott. The Ottawa lawyer determined that on Oct. 25, 1984, Toronto investment dealer James Daves wrote to Trevor Eytan, president of Braemar Ltd., proposing to refinance York Centre Corp., a troubled member of Stevens' business empire. Daves, a corporate vice-president at Richardson Greenfields of Canada Ltd., said in his letter that he had contacted Eytan "at the suggestion of the Honorable Sinclair Stevens." One day later Stevens named Eytan to the board of the Canada Development Investment Corp., which was reversing the sale of Crown corporations.

Stevens has insisted that he did not know about the approach to Eytan, who finally turned down Daves's proposal. And Daves denied that Stevens had asked him to write the letter. But as York Centre president Ted Rose conceded last week, "There could be an appearance of conflict [of interest]."

That concern has emerged as one of the most embarrassing problems facing governments across the nation this summer. To the embarrassment of the federal Tories, Scott has directed a devastating investigation into conflict-of-interest charges against Stevens. The former minister resigned from cabinet last May after it was disclosed that his wife, Noran, had obtained a \$16-million loan last year from Toronto businessman Arlen Cropper, co-

founder of a firm that received millions of dollars in grants from Stevens' ministry. The inquiry report by Ontario High Court Judge William Parker is expected this fall—and senior Conservative sources said last week that Ottawa will tighten its conflict-of-interest guidelines in the wake of Parker's recommendations.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney re-



fused to comment directly on whether he will change the conflict rules and he declined to discuss the Stevens case. But he expressed dissatisfaction with the present system. He told Maclean's last

last week, "Under the existing mechanism it is easy for people to make allegations, and innocent people feel themselves forced to defend themselves against unsubstantiated charges."

The Tories' embarrassment is shared by provincial governments of every political affiliation. In Ontario Liberal Premier David Peterson lost two ministers last June over separate allegations of conflict of interest. While legislative committees investigate allegations against former northern affairs and mines minister René Paré and former management board chairman Sidney Caplan, Peterson has asked former restaurant-palace John Black Air to review the province's conflict guidelines.

In Manitoba, an embarrassed New Democratic government under Premier Howard Pawley is awaiting a report by former Manitoba chief justice Susan Fredman on conflict charges against former energy and mines minister Walter Parasack. And in British Columbia, Social Credit Premier William Vander Zalm, who succeeded William Bennett on Aug. 6, has to decide whether to retain ownership of his \$15-million fantasy theme park near Vancouver. The park is the subject of a ongoing speculation. The conflict-of-interest issue, said one prominent Ontario Liberal last week, "is one of the most serious problems facing governments today."

Governments have sought solutions to the problem for years. In 1979 the prime minister Pierre Trudeau issued federal guidelines based "on the honor system, not the audit system." In Sep-

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tember, 1986, Mulroney tightened the rules, requiring ministers to submit a confidential report of assets to the assistant deputy register general, a public servant who reports to the Prime Minister. To comply with the guidelines, ministers must simply declare holdings in firms that do not have contracts with the federal government or trade shares publicly. But they have to put into a blind trust—or self-asset whose value could be affected by government decisions. Mulroney said in a letter accompanying the guidelines that, while they did not cover spouses or dependent children, ministers had "an individual responsibility" to prevent conflicts resulting from relatives' activities.

The Stevens affair has underscored three major areas where those guidelines are weak. As Mulroney's advisers noted last week, the Prime Minister is held responsible for his ministers' actions—but he has no sure method for verifying their disclosures. The appointment of an ethics counselor to rule on possible conflicts and to recommend appropriate action may provide a solution. But anyone reviewing conflict guidelines will also have to consider whether a blind trust—in which a trustee manages the assets or holdings—a adequate protection against conflict allegations. Stevens's holdings were in a blind trust when his wife registered the loan.

The son of the former of spouses' activities will also likely be addressed in any review. Last week Steven's industrialist at Chiquita insisted that he did not know that Nancy Stevens was the wife of Steven Stevens when he borrowed \$26 million from the Bank of Nova Scotia and loaned it to her. The loan was in the form of a five-year mortgage against any properties owned by the Stevens's firm. Paul Martin Jr., co-ordinator of the search for Liberal party candidates in Quebec, said that the experience of Steven Stevens is discouraging voters from entering politics. "Many women are hesitant out of a fear that their husband's career might suffer, because he would have to restrict his business activities," said Martin.

Readers said last week that And will likely recommend full public disclosure before an independent ethics counselor. And federal Conservative MP Patrick Boyer, executive director of a federal 1980-84 task force on conflict of interest, adds that Ottawa should adopt that policy. Said Boyer last week, "It is an idea whose time will come."

—MARY JENNINGS with HELENE MACKENZIE and RICHARD BAKER in Ottawa, BRUCE SALLACE in Toronto, LANCE GREGG in Vancouver and BEN CALVERT in Halifax

## Gentleman and sleuth

Shortly before public hearings to test out-of-court allegations began against former industry minister David Scott, commission counsel David Scott was interviewing potential witnesses. "I hear that you're very thorough," one witness remarked with a smile. Then, a few weeks after the inquiry began probing dramatic headlines, Scott and his staff met the witness again. Her abrupt and frosty

association of Hamilton West. The judge, according to commission sources, was deeply offended by the suggestion of political partisanship and swiftly named Scott a government liberal with the Ottawa firm of Scott & Apple, an ethical counsel.

Although Scott was hardly a national figure, his legal credentials were impeccable. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather were lawyers—and his brother-in-law is the attorney general of Ontario. Since the mid-1960s Federal Liberal's law turned is him with legal problems. He even headed former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's divorce from Margaret.



Scott catapulted by intensity into the national spotlight

answers were eloquent testimony to Scott's thoroughness.

Since the hearings under Ontario High Court Judge William Parker started on July 14, Scott and his 18-member team have unearthed often damaging revelations from a succession of employees and associates of the Stevens's family business empire. That intensity has catapulted him into the national spotlight. Declared Scott, "If people are surprised about the vigor of the inquiry, they're living in a dream world. An inquiry under the Inquiries Act is a serious business—the facts will be uncovered."

Scott was clearly both a clever and an expedient choice as chief counsel. After Parker's appointment last May, opposition MPs questioned his objectivity, noting that he was the former president of the Conservative riding

added Still, these efforts have been rewarded; they have already interrupted 21 witnesses, and 24 others are scheduled to take the stand before the inquiry ends, likely in mid-October.

Senior Conservatives have followed Scott's endeavors with a mixture of admiration and concern. One senior Tory insider, who asked not to be identified, said that many party members have begun to distance themselves from Stevens—and they are concerned each time that Scott peers dubiously over his reading glasses at another non-operative witness. "Scott is very meticulous—and this inquiry has a life of its own," he said. "He is growing around the undertone, sniffing for a smoking pistol." And Scott usually finds what he's looking for.

—MARY JENNINGS in Toronto







Protesters in Karachi battle with police, underscoring President Zia's increasingly tenuous grip on the Islamic nation

## WORLD

# Dark days in Pakistan

In Anchari, a crowded and dusty suburb of Karachi, the air was filled with tension. Under a blazing afternoon sun, more than 200 shoe-battered Pakistan policemen, some clutching shields, waited for hours along the main Karachi-Islamabad highway for a threatened demonstration by opponents of Pakistan's president, Gen. Muhammad Zia ul-Haq. Then, at dusk about a dozen young militants scrambled into the road, blocking traffic and shouting, "Zia hai, Zia merdoos!" (Zia is a dog, death to Zia!) Minutes later a larger mob set fire to a pile of tires and began hurling rocks at the police, scattering pedestrians and cyclists in the side of the road. The police countered with tear gas and a succession of charges with clubs. But each time the protesters evaded arrest by hiding out in the narrow back streets, only to return for their attacks as soon as the police withdrew.

The running battle between police and demonstrators in Anchari was similar to dozens of other confronta-

tions that rocked Pakistan during the past two weeks. The violence left a death toll estimated between 20 (the government's figure) and 40 (the opposition's) and took the nation of 94 million dangerously close to the brink of open revolt. Together, the clashes have given the strongest indication yet of the strength of an opposition that has developed since Zia seized power in a 1977 coup spearheaded by Benazir Bhutto, 32, daughter of the country's last elected prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the anti-Zia forces have relied only recently on peaceful calls for full and free elections (page 34). But a government crackdown starting Aug. 13, including the arrest and detention of Benazir Bhutto and an estimated 1,600 other leaders of her Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and other opposition groups, shattered Pakistan's fragile peace and sent angry mobs into the streets in demand of Zia's resignation. Declared Muhammad Shah Anwar, 36, one of a handful of opposition leaders still at liberty last week: "We

shall continue the struggle for democracy until victory is ours."

As the unrest continued last week, doubts emerged about the Zia regime's ability to maintain control without dangerously close to the brink of open revolt. Throughout the country, protesters wrecked and burned dozens of railway stations, tolls, police stations and government buildings. But by midweek the opposition fragmented and, in the face of a determined police and military response, the protest appeared to weaken. Although at week's end there were reports of fresh outbreaks of violence in the southern part of the country. Still, one disillusioned PPP member "What can we do? We have no leaders, they have all been arrested. We protested as unemployed Monday and some 700 people burned down government offices and the banks, but now we can't face army bullets."

Some Western allies have been exerting pressure on Zia to speed up the democratization process, but they were clearly alarmed by the process. For one thing, the administration of President Ronald Reagan and most U.S. al-

lies value Pakistan as an important ally in countering Soviet influence. And any instability in the country would weaken its effectiveness as that role. Pakistan's reputation is brightened by its shared border with Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. It is just prior to the Soviet intervention in 1979 the United States had cut off aid to Pakistan because of the country's continued nuclear energy program. After Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, Washington agreed to a five-year, \$4.5-billion aid program. And Zia has been willing to act as a conduit for U.S. funds to the Afghan rebels.

But some of Bhutto's supporters have exhibited a strong anti-American sentiment, banning U.S. flags at demonstrations. Although Bhutto says that she would not jeopardize American aid to her country, she has been less specific about the extent to which she would support U.S. policies in the region. Still, in the midst of last week's

taught parades with Washington because she is losing support within her own party as a result of her adroit stand. Still, the spokesman "She is alarmed. If anything, someone who has given her their support."

Violence and factionalism have marred Pakistan politics since the nation's birth in 1947. Administered until then by the British colonial government as part of India, it emerged from the British partition of the subcontinent as a distinctly Muslim nation. But Pakistan was also a country of two distinct parts, East and West Pakistan, separated by 4,000 km of Indian territory. In 1952 an assassin killed Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. In 1963 tensions between Muslim sects resulted in rioting and arson. And by 1968 Pakistan's politics had degenerated into a hubbub of regional and national disputes.

As a result, in October, 1968, Pakistan entered the first of many periods

and its leaders intensified their demands for independence. Yahya Khan's government sent in troops to quell the rising separatist movements. But the Indian government invaded and supported the rebels. For Pakistan's military, the outcome was disastrous. In late 1971 the discredited, overthrown forces of Yahya Khan accepted an Indian ceasefire offer and East Pakistan became independent Bangladesh.

The secession of East Pakistan did not avert regional tensions in the West. The country is composed of four distinct provinces—Sindh, the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan and Punjab. Of these, Baluchistan has most often been the scene of violent campaigns for independence. And Punjab has also been the object of deep resentment from the remaining three provinces, which resent its power and its domination of the country's military.



Riot victims in Karachi taking the country dangerously close to the brink of open revolt

of martial law, declared by Gen. Muhammad Ayub Khan in 1969 widespread popular agitation against his regime forced Ayub Khan to step down in favor of Gen. Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan. The new leader announced that general elections would be held in December, 1970. But by then the rising tide of East Pakistan separatism had supplanted that region and alienated it from the West. East Pakistan's Awami League, campaigning for autonomy, won a landslide victory,

The violent consequences of the latest unrest were felt most strongly in the south-eastern province of Sindh, a dry, scorched plain that has traditionally been a hotbed of secessionist agitation. Local opposition sources said that at least 20 people died and thousands were injured in fighting between opposition and government supporters in more than 30 towns and villages across the region. And in the provincial capital of Karachi, a burning city of six million people on the shores of the Arabian Sea, a crowd of about 4,000 protesters looted and pelted two plainclothes policemen to death after the funeral of an opposition supporter who had been killed by a blast from a police shotgun. Meanwhile, gangs of youths fought daily battles against police in the city's slum districts of Bagair and Chakwara, pelting passing vehicles with stones and burning roads with burning tires and scarp bands.

Despite the unrest, Pakistan's economy and the military remain, at least for now, intact. In a 1,100 km from Karachi in the north of the country, was no immediate danger of collapse. For one thing, the 60-year-old Zia still commands the loyalty of the country's 300,000-strong army, without

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which so political leaders can hope to rule Pakistan. But at least as tallaging, the forces opposed to the president remain badly divided along ethnic, regional and ideological lines. Since 1981 they have campaigned for democracy under the banner of an 11-party coalition, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). But beneath a thin veneer of unity, each faction still harbours a deep distrust of the others' motives. Said one prominent MRD supporter to *Newsweek's* last week: "I would not want to be in Benazir Bhutto's shoes at all. It is going to take a lot of political skill to hold the movement together, and I don't know if she is up to it."

The collapse of the protests last week took place at the underlying tensions within the opposition alliance erupted into the open. One of the opposition parties, the centrist Islamic-Infisal (Movement for Restoration) movement, argued that it was leaving the MRD to the president. Another Khan, declared that the rest of the opposition had miscalculated by launching a campaign to bring down Zia's regime without first making sure that they had widespread popular support. Said Khan, a retired air force commander who played a key role in ousting Benazir Bhutto's father from office in 1972: "It is one thing to offend a provision of 500,000 people. But it is another to lead them in a disciplined manner to fight for the common cause."

With most of the opposition's leadership in jail, last week's anti-government demonstrations were poorly organized. Most of the rallies attracted only a few hundred supporters, a disappointing turnout by the normal standards in the densely populated Indian subcontinent. In Rawal Pindi, Karachi's bustling business centre, organisers were forced to cancel a planned protest march after police carrying shields and batons—15-on bamboo staves tipped with steel—turned out in superior numbers. And local residents said that many of those who took part in the three demonstrations were teenagers motivated less by politics than by longstanding hatred of the city's security forces. Said a Western diplomat in Karachi: "A lot of the people who are out there throwing stones are just kids throwing it at them."

Said the second, underdog Zia's increasingly tenuous grip on the imper-

ished Islamic nation. A convicted blasphemy Zia says he takes a day and refuses to drink alcohol. He has ruled Pakistan with an iron fist ever since he overthrew Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in a July, 1977, coup, which he code-named "Operation Fair Play." Zia's friends say that he originally intended to return the country swiftly to elected democracy and that he took power only to end Bhutto's increasingly repressive regime. But on the many occasions when Zia has pledged a full return to democracy, he has reneged on his promises at the face of apparent unrest.

Zia's greatest tactical error may have been allowing Bhutto to be elected on April 4, 1979. A military court ordered the former prime minister to be hanged after finding him guilty of complicity in the murder of a political opponent. But many Pakistanis remain convinced that Bhutto was innocent and that Zia simply wanted to eliminate a popular rival. Whatever the reason, Bhutto's execution made him a political

martry for many Pakistanis. Even now his round, smiling face graces posters in shops and homes across the country. "We are sorry your killers are still alive," declares a popular poster in Urdu, the national language.

Bhutto's daughter, Benazir, is an ambitious, well-educated woman, with a bachelor's arts degree from Oxford, who grew up speaking more English than Urdu. She has spent the past five years either under house arrest in Karachi, in Pakistani prisons or in self-imposed exile in Europe. She returned to Pakistan from London in April, four months after Zia suspended martial law as part of what he described as a carefully controlled return to democracy. Almost immediately hundreds of thousands of supporters rallied to Bhutto and, virtually overnight, the PPP, which her father founded in 1967, was transformed from a broadly based but insignificant organization into Pakistan's strongest political party. Said a Western political analyst in Karachi: "Benazir is the star of the night, she opens in Pakistan right now—the replaced daughter of an executed prime minister."

Bhutto has inherited her father's populist streak. To the poor and the underprivileged—the majority of Pakistan—the Bhutto name evokes her father's promises of work, wages, sea-

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bus (bread, clothing, shelter). But her critics say that Benazir Bhutto has so far failed to mobilize Pakistan's urban middle-class, voters of whom she has prospered recently because of the relative strength of the Pakistan economy. Last week's antigovernment protests were notably stronger in rural Sind province than farther north in the more heavily industrial Punjab, where 84 per cent of Pakistanis live. Acknowledged Sindhi Sherbaz Khan Memon, leader of the Pakistan National Democratic Party and one of the founders of the PPP, "If the Punjab does not come out then the opposition campaign cannot succeed."

Bhutto has also alienated many of Pakistan's wealthy, politically influential landowners whose financial support is critical to the PPP. Among their complaints is her removal of many old-guard landowners from party offices and their replacement with young, inexperienced Bhutto supporters. Among those who deeply resent Bhutto's influence is Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, a former president of the PPP's provincial wing in Sind who left the party earlier this year. Jatoi, who now plans to form a rival party, "Her acceptance is matched only by her ego."

Even in rural Sind, support for the opposition is limited. In Indo Adam, an agricultural town 800 km northwest of Karachi, 2,000 followers of Bhutto rioted last week, killing two policemen and setting fire to a bank, three shops and a government office. A day later, Zia Jochinda retaliated by burning down a paint store owned by a rival supporter. Most of the town's inhabitants are Mughals who, like Zia himself, migrated to Pakistan from India when the two countries were partitioned in 1947. Many Mughals—most of them deeply conservative—say that they prefer Zia's brand of authoritarian rule to the inherent instability of democracy.

But U.S. officials say that they fear the growing pressure for change in Pakistan could eventually overwhelm Zia, as it did with other U.S. allies, the Shah of Iran in 1979 and former president Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines earlier this year. As a result, the Reagan administration has brought pressure on Zia to relax his iron grip. In January he responded by lifting martial law, and he repeated an earlier pledge to hold free elections in 1990.

Meanwhile, Zia has carefully distanced himself from the current crackdown on the opposition. Five days before Bhutto's arrest he headed a regularly scheduled Pakistan International Airways flight to Saudi Arabia, beginning a 12-day pilgrimage to Mecca. His aides say that the trip was planned long in advance, but opposi-

tion spokesmen say that they are convinced that Zia's absence from the country was more than a coincidence. During his absence, government spokesmen said that all decisions were being made by Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo. But opposition spokesmen generally concluded that Zia's stern response to the protests



Zia, "his staying power is remarkable"

clearly demonstrated that his actions were orchestrated by Zia.

As for Bhutto, the government could keep her detained without trial for up to 30 days. But many analysts said that they expected Zia to release her as soon as the arrest died down. Said one source close to the Reagan administration, "He hopes that Benazir is released soon. It's kind of dumb to keep her locked up because that only gives the opposition a reason to protest."

Still, Bhutto's popularity presented Zia with a painful dilemma. If he tries to neutralize the opposition, either by keeping Bhutto in prison or sending her into exile, he would be open to charges that his much-courted partial return to democracy was a sham. But if he frees her, she will likely begin agitating again for new elections—which even some government supporters acknowledge she would almost certainly win. Zia's best chance may be to bring forward the date for elections to 1988 (from 1990) and try to split the opposition coalition in the meantime. As one diplomat in Karachi put it last week, "A lot of people have underestimated Zia from day one. Whatever else you can say about him, his staying power is remarkable."

—ROSS LAKER in Karachi with  
BILLYARD GOLDENBERG



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Benazir Bhutto at Punjab rally; At Bhutto (below): during political ambition

## Family connections

They have been blessed in the Karachis—charismatic, wealthy, intelligent and well-educated. And like Benazir's famous political dynasty, members of Pakistan's Bhutto family have suffered more than the usual share of tragedy. Former prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged in 1979 after being deposed by Gen. Muhammad Zia ul-Haq. His son Shahnawaz died of an unspecified poisoning in 1986 and his widow—a victim of Pakistan's worst prisons—is an inmate in France after a four-year-long battle with lung cancer. Now, Bhutto's 30-year-old daughter, Benazir, is in the international spotlight as leader of a burgeoning anti-Zia movement. She, too, has suffered, having spent most of the past nine years in jail, under house arrest, or in exile. And she was in jail again last week as rioting flared in Pakistan. Benazir's periods of incarceration have clearly left their mark. "My fear of death died with my father," she said. "But ordinary misfortune—1 shoulder when I think what it is like to be quite alone."

Benazir Bhutto's latest arrest by Zia's police happened after she defied a government ban on political meetings on Aug. 14—Pakistan's Independence Day. To many Pakistanis, her

sublime opposition to Zia represents more than a personal vendetta against the man she holds responsible for murdering her father—it is characteristic of her family's burning political



ambition. The Bhuttos are vanguard—Urdu for feudal landlords—from the Sind province in southern Pakistan. But although most senators prefer a life of idleness, the Bhuttos have been prominent for several generations. Benazir's grandfather, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, was a

high-ranking official in the British colonial government; that ruled India, of which Pakistan was part until 1947.

Shahnawaz Bhutto's son Zulfikar began his rise to power in 1958, when he returned to Pakistan to practice law after studying political science at the University of California at Berkeley and jurisprudence at Oxford. Family connections brought the young lawyer into frequent contact with the country's military leaders, and in 1968, after Gen. Muhammad Ayub Khan assumed control of the country, the 30-year-old Bhutto was among right officials invited to join the government, becoming Pakistan's minister of commerce.

By 1970, Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), formed after he left the government in 1966, was strong enough to overtake a majority in West Pakistan in the general elections held that year. And after Pakistan's disastrous 1971 war with India over East Pakistan, the disgraced leaders of the military handed over power to Bhutto.

Many Pakistanis remember Benazir's father as a charismatic leader and a brilliant orator. Preaching a combination of Islam and democratic socialism, Bhutto convinced a widespread disillusionment of industry and launched a land-reform program. But his regime was also marked by widespread corruption and repression, and his critics branded him an arrogant demagogue. Indeed, many of his opponents blame Bhutto and his political ambitions for the bitter 1973 war. The overwhelming majority was by the Awami League in East Pakistan in the 1973 election would have given it a majority in the national parliament, leaving Bhutto with only the deputy prime ministership. As a result, his opponents argue, he fueled instability and the campaign for East Pakistan's independence by ordering his party to boycott the legislature.

By 1977 dissatisfaction with Bhutto's government and charges that the PPP had achieved an overwhelming majority in that year's general election by electoral fraud brought Bhutto to the crime seat. In July, Zia's armed forces intervened and proclaimed martial law. Bhutto, charged with having ordered the murder of a political opponent in 1974, was found guilty in a military court and sentenced to death—a verdict upheld by Zia. Bhutto was executed on April 4, 1979, and his widow, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, attempted to continue to lead the PPP. But she

spent most of her time in jail or under house arrest until Zia's forced her to abandon her campaign. In July, 1982, Zia's advisors had her go abroad for treatment for lung cancer. But Zia waited four months before allowing her to leave, leading critics to charge that he wanted her to die.

Tragedy has also surrounded other Bhutto family members. In July, 1986, Benazir's younger brother, Shahnawaz, was found dead in his apartment in Cannes, France. At first police believed that Shahnawaz, 37, had poisoned himself after an argument with his 21-year-old Afghan-born wife, Rehana. But Shahnawaz had also been active in the campaign against Zia. Along with his brother Manzoor, he briefly organized a small anti-Zia terrorist group in the early 1980s, which claimed responsibility for the 1981 hijacking of a Pakistan airliner to Syria. A police search of Shahnawaz's apartment after his death unearthed evidence of his continuing activity in the anti-Zia campaign. And the autopsy showed that he died from repeated, a septuple-lethal dose, largely unknown in Europe but thought by intelligence sources to be used by the secret services of some Middle Eastern states. Benazir has since charged the Pakistan government with complicity in her brother's death.

At first glance, the young woman who is now challenging Zia is an unlikely guest-singer. Raised by an English nanny at the family home in Karachi and on the sprawling feudal estate near the town of London, 300 km southeast of Karachi, Benazir Bhutto started her education at a Catholic convent in Karachi. At 16 she went to Radcliffe, new part of Harvard, in Cambridge, Mass., before going on to study politics and economics at Oxford. There, she demonstrated a streak of the determination and ambition common to her family by winning election to the presidency of the Oxford Union Society, the university's prestigious debating club. And, although she has claimed that she had no political ambitions prior to the death of her father, he clearly cultivated her political interests, taking her on foreign tours and, during his last year in power, giving her a job in Pakistan's foreign office.

Benazir adored her father, spending

as much time as possible with him while he was imprisoned and running political errands for him. "He would tell me, do this, do that, contact so-and-so—the nuts, the bolts, how to have patience," she recently recalled. In 1980, after enduring almost six years of house arrest and solitary confinement in Pakistani prisons, Benazir went into self-imposed



Benazir Bhutto: a political family wounded by tragedy

exile in London. In August, 1986, she returned to Pakistan for Shahnawaz's burial and was placed under house arrest eight days after the funeral. Allowed to return to London, she waited until Zia lifted the martial law he had imposed in 1977 and returned in April to a triumphant homecoming.

Before her latest arrest, Benazir was operating from the family home in the upper-class Clifton district of Karachi. One room of the white-walled mansion is devoted to the memory of her father, filled with his books and portraits of him. And she has preserved her version of "Bhuttanism" throughout the country, describing it as a fight against oppression and a battle for representative rule and dignity.

Many Pakistanis have defended her messages. But some critics claim that her program is vague. Others say that her astoratoric manner and her encouragement of the cult of personality—charges also leveled against her father—are causing bitter divisions in the 11-party coalition pressing for a return to democracy in Pakistan. "Her party has no manifesto," and one older politician. "She acts like a film star. And once she fails to deliver the goods, people will lose patience with her."

—JENNIFER KUFFELMAN with IAN MATTHEW in London and correspondence reports

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Starving refugees in Sudan face food shortages that could rival Ethiopia's famine

SUDAN

## War-induced famine

Last year images of Ethiopians struggling into refugee camps under a merciless African sun filled the television screens of the world. The specter of mass famine—caused by a 17-year drought—swept across the breadth of northern Africa, hitting Ethiopia, Sudan, Mali and Chad the hardest. Now, according to United Nations officials, food shortages in southern Sudan caused in part by a savage civil war could rival last year's famine. And after Sudanese rebels shot down a Sudan Airways passenger plane on Aug. 18, killing all 60 people aboard, the International Committee of the Red Cross indefinitely halted its emergency flights of food aid to the strife-torn country.

Since 1989 a grinding civil war in southern Sudan has displaced hundreds of thousands of people and destroyed the agricultural base in the vast and largely inaccessible interior. Early this year the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA)—Christians and Animists fighting for southern autonomy in the Muslim-dominated country—began attacking convoys of donated food. The rebels claimed that the food aid from United Nations agencies—intended for as many as two million starving southerners—was be-

ing seized by the Sudanese army. Overland transportation became so dangerous that relief agencies began shifting food to distribution centers in government-held towns in the South. But now that the SPLA has carried out its threat to shoot down aircraft flying over rebel territory, the ability of rebel workers to deliver emergency aid is seriously threatened.

Canada currently supplies \$9 million worth of food aid to Sudan—mostly wheat flour—and \$48.8 million in development aid through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and multilateral organizations such as the World Food Bank. CIDA runs a number of projects on communication, agriculture and transportation in the North but, because of the violence, has no aid projects in the South. Commenting on the recent breakdown of talks between Khartoum and the rebels, an External Affairs official said, "It's a disappointment. We hope that soon agreements will start again."

International relief officials say that food shortages in southern Sudan could lead to another human tragedy of epic proportions in Geneva. Red Cross spokeswoman Sergio Cortis said that a combination of war, drought, famine and a recent increase in threats to en-

force them towns," said the Canadian radio. "If you insist on remaining in town and near the way, the bullets will never differentiate between an enemy and a friend."

Relief officials say that there are about 500,000 displaced Sudanese in the southern part of the country, which already has the largest refugee population in Africa. According to relief agency officials, any worsening of the food and political situation in southern Sudan could lead to an exodus of people into Uganda, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone, which already have substantial numbers of refugees. "There's nothing to eat except cattle," said a United Nations official. "And the minute people start eating their cattle is that mark of the woods, they are destroying their capital. It is a dangerous and significant situation."

In New York, UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar last week appealed "to all parties concerned" to permit the immediate resumption of relief operations in southern Sudan. Because of the fighting, almost all UN staff workers have been evacuated from the region until further notice. Red Cross spokesman Cortis said that his organization plans to resume aid flights as soon as possible. "We hope it will take only a few days," he said, "but it might take weeks. Clearly, that would be too late for thousands who are now starving."

—ANDREW BRUSH with correspondent reports

THE UNITED STATES

## In cold blood

The murders were stunningly cold-blooded. On Aug. 30, Edmond, Okla., mail carrier Patrick Henry Sherrill entered the town's co-op grocery store at 6:45 a.m. as ap-

proximately 190 postal workers sorted mail and prepared for the day's deliveries. Without a word to his co-workers, he reached up to his shoulder and unleashed a deadly delivery: a barrage of bullets from two .45 caliber automatic pistols and a .38 caliber pistol. According to police, who arrived on the scene shortly after 7 a.m., Sherrill, a veteran of the Marine Corps, reloaded at least one magazine but shooting again. By the time police entered the building at 8:30, 14 people lay dead, seven were injured, and Sherrill had killed himself with a shot to the head. Said Edmond Mayor Randal Shadd: "You always think something like this can't happen in a town like this, but it can. There are a lot of nuts everywhere these days."

As residents in the town of 30,000 people just north of Oklahoma City reeled from the latest in a growing list of senseless U.S. mass slayings, the image of Sherrill that emerged was that of a troubled man. Known to residents in the Oklahoma City neighborhood where he lived alone as "Crash Pat," Sherrill had a reputation as a sly and contriving loner who often stalked through his neighborhood at night dressed in military fatigues. Some residents said they had complained to him that he was a peeping tom. Said Dolores Coleman, who lived across the street from Sherrill: "I was told when I moved into this neighborhood that he was weird. He tended to brood, and I never saw him smile."

The Edmond murders were among the worst in U.S. history. In July, 1964, James Earl Ray, an unemployed security guard, opened fire in a McDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, Calif. He killed 21 people, many of them children, and injured 41 others before a police sharpshooter killed him. In Edmond, police sifting through the tangled past of America's latest mass murder reported that they found makeshift shooting targets, paralytic map-



Edmond police carry out the massmurder victim; no explanations

state's National Guard, may have been provoked by a superior's reprimand about his unsatisfactory work performance. Said one of Sherrill's co-workers who escaped unscathed: "He just didn't know how to carry mail."

A debate about U.S. Postal Service working conditions erupted following Sherrill's rampage. Hugh Hays, president of the 30,000-member National Association of Postmasters, de-

clared that in past offices across the nation threats and violence by disgruntled employees were becoming commonplace. But in Washington, Vincent Lombardo, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, said that the union had received a high number of complaints about mismanagement in the Oklahoma City area. Still, he added, "nothing can excuse what happened." As Edmond postal workers tearfully returned to their jobs and as friends and relatives in the Oklahoma City area mourned their dead, there were no real explanations for the terrible action of a troubled man with a grudge—and a gun.

—PETER KOPPEL with a correspondent report

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# Trenors in the vaults

A year ago, during the worst banking crisis in the nation's history, Canadians suffered a loss of faith. On Sept. 1, the almost unthinkable occurred: after spending more than \$1.3 billion in a desperate effort to keep the Edmonton-based Canadian Commercial Bank afloat, Ottawa abandoned the fight and forced the nine-year-old institution into liquidation. At the end of the month a second Alberta-based institution, Calgary's Northland Bank, also failed. That created a crisis of confidence in Canada's financial institutions. In the months that followed, a third bank was forced to merge with a larger competitor as concerned depositors moved their accounts away from various smaller banks and trust companies.

The loss of deposits has ended, but the banking crisis has still not subsided. Major regulatory reforms pledged by Ottawa a year ago have not been authorized. And Western Canada's resource-based economy is rapidly weakening under the impact of changing commodity prices. As a result, three reputation-based trust companies are struggling to survive and there are mounting calls for a new rash of failures could set off a wave of bankruptcies and put new pressures on a financial system founded on faith.

Reacting to that threat, federal regulators across the country are involved in an intensified effort to catch problems before they result in failures. The Office of the Inspector General of Banks has hired special staff to perform regular on-site inspections. And if a financial institution is in trouble, the Canada Deposit Insurance Corp (CDIC) has a new policy of sending in contractors to help deal with the situation.

The problems are greatest in the West, where the Vancouver-based Bank of British Columbia is still recovering from last year's crisis. Plagued by world prices, bank deals have been in most of the region's resource industries, from petroleum and mining to food, timber, potash and grains. The uncertain financial future of borrowers in these businesses has further undermined the West's dream of



Kaur: backing away from the brink

building a strong, regionally based financial sector. "The outlook is not great," said Terry Rasmussen, a bank analyst with the Toronto-based investment firm of Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. "When you are a regional bank and the region goes into a problem, it gets pretty tough."

The difficulties of Western institutions have grown in recent months as the value of loan assets has continued to deteriorate. Many of them are heavily encumbered by overvalued real estate loans left over from the boom period of the late 1970s and early 1980s. "There have been some strains placed on the entire financial community by the difficulties in Alberta," said Donald McKinlay, chairman of the CIBC, which guarantees deposits of less than \$64,800 in accredited financial institutions. "So only have to walk around Edmonton and Calgary to see what has happened in the past few years and the disastrous investment that was made there. The oil shock has created tremendous havoc in Alberta."

Ottawa so far has not carried out the financial reforms designed to prevent a similar event from happening again. Now has the federal government appointed a successor to William Kennedy, the former inspector general of banks, who resigned in March with many observers blaming him for a large part of last year's banking troubles. Last week a report by the Toronto-based accounting firm of Coopers & Lybrand Canada, headed by Chairman William Chappell, concluded that Kennedy's office had failed to adequately supervise the troubled banks.

The damage from last year's bank failures was contained largely through the combined benefits of cash and credit infusions from the Bank of Canada and the efforts of leaders in the banking community. Last October, after a flood of withdrawals threatened to bring down the fundamentally solid Mercantile Bank of Canada, Ottawa's premier the Vancouver-based institution into merging with Montreal's National Bank. Since then, the Toronto-based Continental Bank of Canada, which suffered an outflow of \$1.1 billion in deposits within two months of the CCB's failure, has shown evidence

of a strong recovery. In July it was able to reduce its steadily eroding loan from the Bank of Canada to \$500 million from \$1.5 billion.

But these remain concern over the future of the Bank of British Columbia, which is still fighting to restore its health after a hemorrhaging of nearly \$1 billion in funds by large commercial customers in the months following last September's bank collapse. Its flow of credit with the Bank of Canada reached \$600 million by last March. But that amount has now been reduced to roughly \$500 million. The bank reported loan losses of \$46 million last year. But since then it has undergone a major restructuring, laying off 300 employees in a cost-cutting drive. It also closed 49 branches across the Prairies and two of its four overseas offices. At the same time, the bank stopped trying to win back major commercial customers and shifted its emphasis to small and medium-sized deposits.

Smuggling Corporate Corp. chairman Les Sacco, who went on television to promote his filing company, the bank's charismatic chairman, Edgar Kayser Jr., appeared in a series of TV advertisements aimed at restoring small depositors.

At a recent, and president Dale Parker, retail and personal deposits began picking up through the summer. But the bank's nonperforming loans were still about \$90 million in June, and the continuing weakness in the price of oil, as well as declining revenues from many other commodities, pose problems still. Parker said that the bank's nonperforming loans equal only 2.5 per cent of its total portfolio and that it has only about \$109 million in energy-related loans. Added Parker: "Anything which impacts on the economy has a ripple effect, and to that extent we are affected."

In Vancouver there are efforts to find a way of reuniting the city's troubled Columbia Trust Co. Ltd. With current assets of \$136 million—and a equity shortfall of \$46 million—Columbia was put into receivership by the province's Social Credit government on Aug. 1 after pressure from federal and provincial officials broke down. "We worked with Columbia's management and had consultants in

trying to turn the thing around," said McKinlay. "It didn't work, but we certainly tried." As part of that attempt, a firm controlled by Vancouver businessman Nelson Skalmevsky was allowed to buy 50 per cent of Columbia for \$1.8 million. But Skalmevsky, who declared bankruptcy with more than \$50 million in debts four years ago, has his own liquidity problems, and so far has not put enough new money into Columbia.

In neighboring Alberta, Ottawa is focused on the fate of two Edmonton-based trust companies—North West Trust Co., which once claimed \$900 million in assets, and the smaller Heritage Savings & Trust Co. Based



Skalmevsky: new pressures for a financial system founded on faith

with mounting losses on mortgage and real estate loans, North West recorded operating losses of more than \$20 million during 1984 and 1985. Heritage, with claimed assets of \$111 million in 1984, lost at least \$4 million last year. After two missing deadlines for filing financial statements with the Alberta Securities Commission this year, both firms technically fell into default.

But observers in Calgary financial circles predicted that Alberta's Conservative government—which under former Premier Peter Lougheed used \$85 million in public funds to help bolster North West's fortunes—would not let the trust fail. According to knowledgeable business sources in Calgary, Premier Don Getty's government may be planning to use some North West funds and combine those with other nonperforming trust company and credit union assets in a specially-created

government holding company called the Properties Fund.

Some observers say that the growing accumulation of bad loans held by western financial institutions could lead to a rash of western business failures as the banks lose this year's performance returns. The full-blown crisis—only predicted eight months ago that the nation's six largest chartered banks would have to write off \$22 billion in bad debts this year—now calculates that that banks could lose \$1.2 billion in the fiscal year ending Oct. 31 and another \$3 billion in fiscal 1987. Those debts have already been written off by the banks, Skennedy said. But whether the lending institutions will try to sell in the outstanding loans to reduce the size of firms and, in doing so, "take the pay out, in another matter," he added.

Despite mounting pressure for Ottawa to resolve the loans under which banks and trust companies operate, federal officials predict that new legislation will be delayed until Mr. Justice William Ritchie reports this fall on his 18-month inquiry into the causes of last year's bank failures. One Ottawa source said that Kelley will likely argue that the shortage of problems in the West point to a fundamental weakness of reputation-based financial institutions.

In the meantime, Ottawa's efforts appear to be devoted to damage control. In the Office of the Inspector General of Banks, 40 new staffers have been hired, bringing the total to 70 officials who are tabulating all relevant assets and liabilities to a rigorous annual examination. Liquidators appointed by the federal government to supervise the dismembering of the five failed banks reported last week that they had recovered about \$1.5 billion of the \$2.6 billion poured by Ottawa and banks into last year's rescue attempt. But the liquidators are moving slowly. They are under orders, said McKinlay, to take a "prudent and sensitive" approach and avoid selling assets at fire-sale prices—a policy that would only aggravate an already troubled situation in the West.

—MARK NEWMAN and ANN THORNTON  
in Vancouver and  
GREG FORTIN in Vancouver

## Battle of the surplus

The decision was a stunning setback for wily lawyer Conrad Black and an ailing corporate giant which he controls. Last week the Supreme Court of Ontario ordered Dominion Stores Ltd. to return \$77.6 million that it withdrew last January, 1985, from its ailing employee pension plan in its 46-page decision.

Justice Philip Reid said that Dominion, which is controlled by Black's Hollinger Inc., "fell as right, under the plan—the amount in excess of what is needed to cover the costs of pensions for plan members—constitutes 'legalized theft from pension plan members.'" But the decision favouring the ailing and a group of its employees who launched the action concerned many experts in the pension fund industry who said that, if companies eventually lose their right to withdraw surpluses from ongoing pension plans, they may cut back on corporate contri-

million. But then an employee group threatened another court action if Donogroup did not also return \$16.5 million in surpluses that it withdrew in early 1983. Donogroup refused the request and announced that it would appeal last week's decision. Said White: "To defend ourselves against this new demand, our lawyers have advised us that we must appeal."

The issue of pension fund surpluses has placed attention in the past several years as the number of requests for withdrawals have increased. In 1980 the PTO allowed 22 companies to withdraw a total of \$17.7 million in surpluses.

In 1981 for the year ended March 31, 1986, the PTO permitted 30 companies to withdraw a total of \$183.2 million.

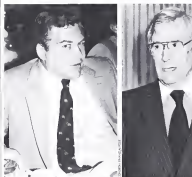
Companies are requesting withdrawals because surpluses are growing—the result of the four-year old bull market that has dramatically improved returns on pension fund investments. In the late 1970s pension funds were averaging annual returns of nine and 16 per cent. In the past four years pension funds have averaged a return of 23 per cent per year.

Pension experts note that a company must have enough in the plan to meet its liabilities—the cash it needs to provide future pension benefits. If the plan falls short, the firm must make up the amount, typically within five years.

Every province except Quebec, companies have the right to withdraw a surplus. But they may not remove the surplus that is earned on employee contributions. The firm must also withhold another portion of the surplus as protection against shortfalls.

Some firms want the remaining surplus because they are in financial trouble. Others use it for expanding operations or for acquisitions. To deny a company the right to decide how it uses the remaining surplus, said Nicholas Rosenek, a principal with Toronto-based investment counsellors William M. Mercer Ltd., "takes away freedom of choice." It will be up to the courts now to decide who owns Canada's massive pension surpluses.

—MICHAEL SALTER in Toronto



Black (left) and Reid: a dispute over who owns millions of dollars in pension fund surpluses

plan documents, to apply to remove the surplus." Reid also criticized the Pension Commission of Ontario (PCO), the government regulator that authorized the withdrawal, for failing to order Dominion to inform its employees and the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) of its request to take out the money. The PCO, said Raymond Kinkin, one of the lawyers who represented the ailing, "seems to have forgotten why it is there—to protect the interests of the workers."

Last week's court action pleased labor leaders and other experts who have traditionally argued that pension fund surpluses should be used to improve employee benefits. Robert Rae, leader of the Ontario spr., has said that the removal of pension fund sur-

pluses that help produce those surpluses. Said his Maribou, a partner who heads the pension consulting practice for Toronto-based PwC Marwick and Partners: "Some companies wonder what is the point in getting as much as the maximum if you have no chance in the use of the surplus?" Still, the Ontario court order did not settle the contentious issue of whether Dominion or its employees own the pension fund surplus. Conrad Black, associated in London, refused to comment on last week's development. But, in March Dominion launched its own action to recover the surplus, saying that it was entitled to surplus funds.

Following last week's decision, Peter White, president of Donogroup Ltd.—Dominion changed its name on April 29—said that it would return the \$77.6

## Bombardier takes flight

It was a second chance to make privatization possible. On Aug. 13 Minister of State for Privatization Barbara McDougall stepped out of a grueling 90-hour cabinet meeting in Ottawa and announced that the government had approved the sale of Crown-owned aerospace manufacturer

ally welcomed by labor and business groups. Labor leaders representing Canada's 4,800 employees endorsed the sale publicly. That reaction contrasted sharply with the sale of Toronto-based Bell Canada Aircraft of Canada Ltd. last December to U.S.-owned Boeing Co. The transaction attracted



Beaudin (left) and McDougall 'doing a deal in five'

Then, last week a swelling and unburned McDougall confirmed rumors that aerospace and subway car maker Bombardier Inc., also of Montreal, had bought the company. Afterward, McDougall and Bombardier president Laurent Beaudin boarded a Canadian Challenger executive jet to Montreal. Onboard, they toasted the sale with champagne. McDougall told Maclean's: "It's just a rumour, doing a deal is fun. And sure, there was a little edge of tension around how it was going to go. But it was positive tension."

The successful conclusion of four months of intensive negotiations to sell the second of the major Crown corporations for sale was McDougall's first task as privatization minister. For the past two years, as the minister of state for finance, she led the Tory government's frontier defense during Canada's most serious banking crisis. Now, she is charged with fulfilling the Conservatives' 1984 election undertaking to sell the government-owned enterprises in the private sector.

Named to the job on June 30, McDougall went over the odds for Canada "line by line and asking questions about every number," said a member of the privatization secretariat. To a complicated sale agreement, Bombardier will pay a net cash price to the government of \$385 million—a fraction of the \$2.2 billion Ottawa has spent on developing the company during the past 30 years. Said McDougall: "You could not imagine the billions spent on Canada." The sale, which does not provide job guarantees but does include safeguards ensuring that Bombardier will continue to invest in research and development, was gener-

ally welcomed by labor and business groups. Labor leaders representing Canada's 4,800 employees endorsed the sale publicly. That reaction contrasted sharply with the sale of Toronto-based Bell Canada Aircraft of Canada Ltd. last December to U.S.-owned Boeing Co. The transaction attracted

Bombardier's strength lies in its aggressive international marketing skills—evident in the success the company has had in selling subway cars to cities in the United States. The cars, designed by Kawasaki Heavy Industries Ltd. of Japan, are manufactured under licence by Bombardier. Beaudin says that Bombardier has made a strategic decision to buy technology rather than to develop its own. The purchase of Canadian fits into that strategy.

But some observers say that Bombardier also wanted Canada because its purchase might help to win a badly contested \$1.7-billion, 30-year maintenance contract for Canada's CF-18 aircraft, a chance in the Canadian purchase agreement, inserted by Bombardier, guarantees a one-per-cent royalty payment to the federal government if Bombardier wins the work.

With the sale of Canada, there are only two Crown companies currently up for sale. They are TransCanada and Eldorado Nuclear Ltd., both owned by CFC. Bombardier indicated last week that there was maximum potential buyers for both of the profitable corporations. But before those and others are put officially for sale—such as Air Canada—be said, Marshall said, "there are some very major political questions that the government must make." For her part, McDougall said that she is not in any hurry. She said she is willing to wait for the right market conditions before selling off another Crown corporation. It is a signal from the Conservatives that privatization is going ahead—but not at any political cost.

—PATRICIA BENT with MARGARET CLARK and PAUL GOSWELL in Ottawa and RUTH WALLACE in Montreal

# Halifax's master dealer

When Ottawa announced the sale of Crown-owned Canadian Ltd. to Bombardier last week, among the few rejected bids was one from a Halifax company little known outside Nova Scotia, I.M.P. Group Ltd. had offered \$225 million for the maker of the Challenger executive jet, well above Bombardier's \$200-million purchase price. But IMP was unwilling to consent to keeping Canadair in the fixed-wing aircraft business—a stance that was unacceptable to the federal government. Kenneth Rowe, IMP's assistant, vice-president and sales executive, accepted the defeat with equanimity. "Unless you get a deal you can make work, it is no good to you," he said. Deals that work are Rowe's specialty.

The long-shot bid for the Crown aircraft maker was characteristic of Rowe, 51, and the company he formed in 1967 from two failing foundries. Since buying out three former partners in 1974, Rowe has steered IMP to sales of \$150 million a year at a stunning average annual growth rate of 35 per cent. His bold style between a strategy of picking off weakened competitors through takeovers and then

relentlessly pruning their losing ventures. Said the British-born former merchant seaman last week: "I'm motivated by money."

Rowe has become an important business presence in Nova Scotia. He is increasingly well known nationally as well. Unlabeled by his future in the Canadair competition, next month

**Rowe does not hesitate to dismiss managers, and in one company he fired the entire management group in one day**

Rowe will unveil a recently completed takeover of an aerospace company. Declared Gordon Lumsden, executive vice president of the Halifax Board of Trade during Rowe's term as president in 1984: "He is demanding, hard-driving, aggressive and very, very ambitious."

For Rowe, having large ambitions is a way of life. When he was 25 and living in England, poor prospects of ad-

vancement led him to resign from the navy to accept a management berth with the Grimshy Coal, Salt & Tanning Co., a British company with scattered interests in marine supplies. Sent to Halifax in 1964 to take over the company's drifting fishing supply subsidiary in the region, Rowe first restored Grimshy's business, then in 1967 he seized an opportunity to go into direct competition with his former employer. With partners, he bought two weakened foundries and redirected them into marine equipment under the name Industrial Marine Products Ltd.—a company that now dominates the business.

In 1970 Rowe broadened IMP's operations. He purchased a failing Dartmouth aircraft parts maker, which became the nucleus of a group of companies that currently service Canadian Avroca patrol planes and F-119s belonging to the Spanish air force. Other IMP divisions make high-tech internal wiring systems for aircraft and surgical and medical equipment.

After completing nearly a dozen acquisitions and successful company turnarounds, Rowe has a firm pattern of operation: "Our style is to put in strong management and control them," Rowe told Maclean's. He does not hesitate to fire managers. In one newly acquired company Rowe dismissed the



Rowe, picking off weakened competitors and ruthlessly pruning losing ventures.

entire management group in one day. In other companies, he has quickly cut unprofitable products. Said Rowe: "We are very good at chopping if we don't see light in the tunnel." Declared Steven Parker, president of Corporate Communications Ltd. of Halifax:

"They're tough. They run tough deals."

But Rowe's tough-guy image is balanced by a reputation for fairness. He enjoys the keen loyalty of his senior aides. "People like strong leadership," he said. "I don't expect to be popular." Still, he commands growing respect in

Halifax as a broad-based exponent of business views. Although Rowe's opinions on public policy are right of centre—he feels provincial deficits should be outlawed—his image is tempered by a record of community service that includes serving as fixed-wing chairman for a local hospital, both Liberal and Conservative provincial lawmakers have courted Rowe as a potential candidate.

For now, he appears more willing to concentrate on IMP's expansion. But last week's Canadair sale may raise an unexpected challenge to Rowe's plans: IMP, with partners including Canadian Marconi Co. of Montreal and Spar Aerospace Ltd. of Toronto, is one of three companies bidding for a \$1.5-billion contract to service Canadian CF-18 jet fighters over a 20-year period. Canadair is also among the finalists. Indeed, Bombardier sweetened its bid offer for Canadair by promising to pay Ottawa a "royalty" of one per cent of the CF-18 contract's value, should Canadair win it. Rowe last week branded the maneuver "close to misrepresentation" by Ottawa. He threatened harsh criticism if the inducement sways Ottawa's decision—an event likely to unleash a vitriolic Ken Rowe broadside squarely on the national stage.

—CHRIS WOOD in Halifax

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## New markets for an ancient hunt

By Peter C. Newman

With Expo 86 now in the home stretch, its participants are beginning to add up the fair's long-term economic payoffs, and one of the top of the list of solidified beneficiaries is the freshwater portlands of the Northwest Territories.

By this week a million visitors will have walked through the mirrored walls of the relatively inexpensive exhibit participating here in the first and only Expo 86, facing a surprisingly realistic facade both the experiences and frustrations of life in the Canadian North. "It was one of the few passions I brought to the exhibit," says portfolio deputy coordinator Alan Vaughan, "but it was clear in time Northern style, with the planners travelling around the villages to seek a consensus on what we should show. The message we have tried to send with our exhibit is that we don't all live in snow houses and drive dog teams, but that the Northwest Territories could be fertile investment territory for southern businessmen."

While Joan and Robert Hermal, who handle economic development inquiries for the Territories' government, have fielded many interesting approaches (including one for the export of crushed 10,000-year-old glacial ice to cocktail chasers for Toronto transients), the most interesting and most solid prospect is the possibility of a revived export market for Arctic seal skins.

The Inuit's material culture has historically ranged on the seal for coastal people (and the caribou for inlanders), encompassing them with food, clothing, shelter, heat and transportation, with the skin used to make tents and kayaks, as well as dog harnesses and other essentials. But a central part of that life-long equation required the frequent use of sealskins for parka, so that when a community's outdoor warriors could be brought, with the sanction of the lobby protesting the clubbing of baby harp seals in the St. Lawrence, the domestic and overseas market for seal has all but disappeared, and few of the parks are now being sold in their traditional applications for the manufacture of luxury coats and jackets.

"There used to be a steady market for about 20,000 sealskins out of the Eastern Arctic," I was told by Miley Labrie, a reasonable businessman from Cape Dorset, working at the pa-

vilion. "Now, I would guess that no more than 2,500 skins are being taken out, and instead of \$65 per skin, prices are down to about \$15. That's serious because it means there is no new cash money circulating in most communities, which has a large importance than the amounts would lead you to believe."

Silvienne Komekuk, an Inuit from Pangnirtung now working at a special RCMP consulate at Frobisher Bay,



Shooting seals: a threatened Inuit

speak. "At least two-thirds of the families in most of our communities depend on the seal hunt for everything, because they have no alternative means for earning, which is the only source of income. When I was growing up, we always hunted seal as a family, partly for our own use and partly to sell the skins so we could afford supplies. But now the hunters don't go out anymore and the young people are not even learning to skin the seals. With the collapse of the

seal market, our way of life became threatened."

In response to this emergency situation, George Whitman, public affairs manager of the Hudson's Bay Co., started to organize the push for alternative sealskin markets. Eventually, Nansen Corp., the Inuit-owned development corporation, had some samples taken by an Ontario leather producer, and they have been made into wallets, coats, gloves, briefcases, gun-case covers and several other fashion items that are for sale at the N.W.T. pavilion. More important, all the furniture in the pavilion's reception area is covered with red-dyed sealskin, and it is passing a tough test of durability. "Seals is growing as a lot of fine posters with which to test the furniture, and the prototypes are standing up very well," says Robert Hermal, who is in charge of promoting the project.

The Inuit's overseas contacts are already negotiating a deal for the sale of 20,000 sealskins to South Korea; the Japanese are investigating the leather for use in covering the seats of Honda sports cars, and serious inquiries have been received from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Sealskins have never been used before to make any commercial products except luxury coats and a few handicrafts, but these new markets could open up a source of badly needed cash for the North and do it without meeting any protest. Even if Geopostage or any other group wanted to stop the trade, it would be hard to do because the finished product is very difficult to distinguish from any other quality leather. Although they do not hunt baby seals and they shoot the adult animals rather than clubbing them, the Inuit because the unwilling victims of the southern protest movements, and this new venture may be a way out for them. As the results of what has happened at Expo, investigators have already begun on ways to set up a small, experimental factory at Broughton Island, on the northeast shore of Baffin Island, with Clyde River and Pond Inlet being considered as alternative sites.

Apart from these future commercial implications, the N.W.T. exhibit has turned out to be the Vancouver fair's most successful Canadian profile, perhaps because its architecture successfully evokes a cool-blue sea—welcome relief in the heat of the Expo summer.



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# SEX AND CENSORSHIP

COVER

The only film shown regularly in the screening room of the Ontario Film Review Board is 28 minutes long and has no title, although some viewers call it "Mary Brown's lingerie show" after the province's recently transferred censor. The film is made up entirely

of scenes which the board has ordered removed from movies, beginning with two from the *The 7th Day*, the 1980 Academy Award-winning film. And some scenes in the Mary Brown film are less explicit than the peep shows shown in the dark alcoves of most large-city downtowns. But the short also contains a prolonged sequence from the movie *Staff*, which the board rejected in 1977. If anyone had publicly screened it, successful prosecution under the obscenity section of the Criminal Code would almost certainly have followed. The scene shows a man with wire cutters apparently ripping the fingers off a blond, naked woman. After more torture, he splits her body open and pulls out her heart. Then he disembowels her, raises her breasts above his head and screams in triumph.

However, a police official said that *Staff* is "the Hollywood version" of a real snuff movie, so-called because it ends with the actual murder of the actress. Although the existence of genuine snuff films is in dispute, they have become vivid symbols of what concerned citizens see as a new wave of pornography now threatening to engulf the nation, one characterized by a level of violence and cruelty that would sicken the guests of the so-called permissive society. The new pornography

has given urgency to demands from social conservatives for stricter censorship. At the same time, the trend is forcing some civil libertarians and other liberal-minded people, including feminists, to advocate the censorship cause.

Earlier this year the federal gov-

ernment, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled by a narrow 5-to-4 majority that D.H. Lawrence's 1928 novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was not obscene.

Much of the controversy over pornography is produced, and for the most part freely distributed, in the United States. There, an anti-

the new legislation tabled in the Commons by then-justice minister John Croxall last June is much more severe than the measures proposed by the Meier Commission. The most controversial aspect of Bill C-338, as the new Canadian legislation is officially known, is its sweeping definition of suppressible pornography. Indeed, a *New York Times* headline recently speculated that even such established soft-core publications as *Playboy* magazine could be banned in Canada as a result of the new law.

**Harassment:** The controversial clause would outlaw "any visual matter showing vaginal, anal or oral intercourse, ejaculation, sexual violent behavior, bestiality, moor, sorcery, sadomasochism or other sexual activity." Many observers, including those who favor limited censorship, have criticized that clause for failing to distinguish between common sex acts and the most bizarre perversions. But the ban against pictures of "other sexual activity" has proven most controversial. Declared Alan Barrow, general counsel of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association: "I used to think that I was somewhat worldly. But when I read through the list, I couldn't find the life of me figure out what they could possibly have meant by 'other sexual activity.'" Added Barrow: "I would have thought the list was exhaustive."

Despite the considerable criticisms levelled against it, the new law will bring some order to an often dimly-remembered system of official censorship that satisfies neither the distributors nor those who favor inde-

cent controls. The wide scope for interpretation in the current legislation, which outlaws the "visual exploitation" of sex and violence, has led judges to formulate what they described as "community standards" in order to determine obscenity.

**Floods:** But those standards vary widely among regions. A Winnipeg retailer was recently fined \$1,000 for selling sex video cassettes of nude films, including one called *Good Women*, which the Ontario censor board had approved and which recently completed a short run in one of Toronto's few remaining sex cinemas. But the reviewer's distributor, Douglas Rowland of Toronto, declared: "I couldn't give this censor-board product away in Quebec, British Columbia

ing" pornography while forbidding depictions of certain so-called obscene activities. It said that the code's emphasis on the corruption of morals was anachronistic. Instead, it posited soundness against "the denial of human dignity" which it saw in much pornography. That would have opened the door for highly explicit material of the kind now illegal—a prospect that alarmed many politicians and their constituents.

As a result, a group of 15 organizations including Roman Catholic and Pentecostal churches joined together to form the Toronto-based Inter-Church Commission on Pornography. The group then organized a letter-writing campaign opposing the recommendations. As a result, after receiving "thousands" of letters, Croxall said that he rejected Franco's recommendations. Said Suzanne Searson, committee spokesman and director of the Office of Catholic Family Life for the Archdiocese of Toronto: "There might be some on the committee who want the legislation to be stronger than it is, but basically we are very much in favor of it as it stands."

**Realities:** Although the new legislation directly addresses these concerns, many women's groups, while otherwise support the suppression of pornography, have criticized Bill C-338. Some feminists say that it fails to distinguish between erotica—which by their definition can be highly graphic, depictions of sexual, healthy sex—and violent or degrading pornography. Said Louise Dulude, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women: "They completely fail to recognize that there is a difference between



Low Angeles cinema; Toronto's sign (right); a renewed caution for censorship

erment responded to the new military by drafting some of the toughest anti-pornography laws in the Western world. One result is that in Canada now, the debate over censorship has reached an intensity that would have been inconceivable at the dawn of the sexual revolution in 1962. What, after relatively "lax" censors-

hip reports recently delivered to Attorney General Edwin Meese drew strong criticism even though it stopped short of recommending official censorship (page 69).

In Canada, by contrast, several existing statutes successfully suppress the open distribution of hard-core pornography in dark jeopards: S.H.

or even Alberta. It's not explicit enough."

Croxall's bill marks a dramatic departure from the recommendations made last year by the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution, chaired by Vancouver lawyer Paul Fraser. The federal government committee called for revisions to the Criminal Code that would suppress a wide range of "violent and degrad-

erotic material and pornography, a crucial difference that feminist groups have been pressing for a number of years.

According to the prevailing feminist analysis, pornography is a form of hate propaganda directed against women. Feminists say that because of it, men see women merely as tools for sexual pleasure, and it encourages violent violence by instilling the myth

that women enjoy being abused. But for feminists, that is the opposite of the new legislation, and many approve of severe penalties for violent and child pornography. Lynn McDonald, for instance, a Toronto New Democrat MP, has endorsed the Tory initiative with only a few reservations. She declared, "By and large, it is very good legislation. It does what I have been urging the government to do."

Many conventional feminists dispute the claim that the proposed legislation is largely a result of the political pressure that they have applied. Sandra Doherty, "It is not as if we are a scapegoat in this instance, it is extremely unfair." She added that her group is currently preparing a brief for Ray Haeghshya, the new justice minister, outlining its opposition to parts of the bill. Others say that the similarity between the two policies in Ontario. Deborah Allison Kerr, a Toronto researcher who heads the educational program "Resisters Against Pornography." "I think the point, in its terms of censorship, has been used that idea as a red herring to deflect attention from what we are really saying."

**Prognosis:** Kerr sees an extensive reduction of pornography, much of it relieved from current-day standards, to illustrate her point. It includes a cover from the June, 1983, issue of the French magazine *Mur* Kim—a photo montage depicting a pregnant woman, naked from the waist down, being kicked down in the stomach by a man with a violent back. There is a cartoon from an edition of *Harper's* magazine which was passed by Ontario, in which a character named Chester the Molester looks behind a tree with a net while a young girl curiously approaches a doll to be his set nearby. A "how-to" feature from *Gear* magazine shows men how to pierce women's nipples and test charts in them. And an advertisement in *Video-X* magazine, promoting feminist porn star "Venus" Del Rio, declares "You're in for some of the most erotic, hottest, most downright savage footage you'll ever see. It's females in bondage, coplets with straps, whips, ropes, apples in the mouth—all the sensations. Venus takes it like you've never seen it before: legless, helpless, powerless."

Whatever her differences, nearly all modern proponents of increased

censorship rely to some extent on recent research that has examined the relationship between pornography and violence. They say that the real harm caused by pornography—either to women or to society as a whole—justifies limitations on freedom of expression.

**Receipt:** After surveying many studies, the Fraser commission said that it was forced to conclude "very reluctantly" that they offered no real proof of pornography's role in promoting violence against women or violence

calls the "degradation" of violence subjected to sexually violent material. Over the past three years Donnerstein has concentrated on so-called slash films such as *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*. He found that after viewing the movies, male subjects became more callous in their attitudes about rape.

A related study was conducted in 1980 at the University of Manitoba by Neil Malamuth, now a professor of psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles. He found that



Leaver: Callwood (below) opposing efforts over banning borderline pornography

did damage in general. But that conclusion proved to be controversial—almost as controversial as the Moore commission's report, based on work the same research, that the opposite was true.

The most frequently cited studies are those which use standard experimental techniques to measure changes in attitude within audiences—usually male college students—before and after viewing pornography. The incoherence of the research is most evident from the fact that participants of opposite news often cite identical studies, especially those done by Edward Donnerstein, a psychologist at the University of Wisconsin, who has documented what he

films depicting violence against women made male college students far more willing to accept it than students who saw films without violence.

**Destructive:** Still, neither researcher is willing to propose a direct cause-and-effect link between pornography and violence. Donnerstein said that extreme violence is destructive, but there is no evidence that explicit sex is as well. Malamuth says that pornography is only one of many factors that might induce a person to commit a sexual offence. Although he added, "It may be the view that the sexual back" indeed, many of the worst serial murderers of modern times



Callwood (below) opposing efforts over banning borderline pornography

have maintained collections of pornography.

Central to most modern pro-censorship arguments is the belief that a new and far more dangerous kind of pornography has emerged to serve appetites stimulated by the sexual revolution of the 1960s. That view is shared by many police officials, censors and Customs agents, who say that the material they seize or suppress is becoming increasingly more violent. As a result, a special unit of the Toronto and Ontario Provincial

stacks of sex magazines. The unit shared some of its hard collection with justice department officials while they were drafting Bill C-114. During her presentation, Leaver pointed out which material would have been allowed under the Fraser commission recommendations, and she says that the group was wrong to propose removing sanctions against unsavory pornography. Deborah Leaver "When explicit, degrading sex becomes legal, pornography and the bondage become available under

found herself isolated and shunned by many feminist friends. Added Callwood "It has been a hard choice for me: principle over popularity."

**Barrow:** described the sweeping difference of pornography in Bill C-114 as "abhorrent to me." But not all the many critics who oppose Canada's current obscenity regulations, he says he does not believe that any substitute wording, no matter how precise its definitions, will be better able to distinguish between pornography and legitimate art. He added "The

position that we have taken is that there simply are no words in the English language sufficiently precise to make that distinction. In fact, the effort to ban one inevitably creates pressures to ban the other, and that is the argument that, in my view, many of the people have failed to answer and often even failed to address."

**Abhorrent:** Feminists like Kerr, as well as many police officials, say that libertarians arguments indicate an assurance of the aberrant nature of modern pornography. Kerr added that the persistence of grey areas would be a small price to pay for the suppression of material that systematically degrades women. Said Kerr: "I would say



Texas Chainsaw Massacre scene; Gosselin (below) finding violence and pain

Police, known as "Project P," has assembled videotapes of material seized in that province, which it shows on request to community groups. The worst material, which the squad reserves for the media and parliamentarians, is replete with simulated and real child molestation, brutality and footage of actual torture and mutilation of a group of women in South America. Road Project P Sgt. Wendy Leaver.

"The average person has no idea what we mean when we talk about pornography today."

The office in which Project P seizes its tapes is lined to the ceiling with shelves of videotapes, and the floor is almost invisible beneath knee-high

the center, and right behind that you get your kiddy pain and your stuff movies."

Meanwhile, Canada's civil libertarians have been struggling to make themselves heard. Although Barrow emphasizes his support of feminist goals, he said that their pro-censorship arguments represent "a disquieting new dimension" in the debate. One of his colleagues in the civil liberties association, Toronto journalist Anne Callwood, said that she was "degraded" after a public dispute with prominent feminist and former Liberal party adviser Maude Barrow two years ago. After attacking Barrow's pro-censorship position in a column, Callwood

that protecting more than half the population from the possibility of a peer of borderline pornography."

And Stovane said that it is not necessary for censorship laws to make painstaking distinctions between art and pornography because police are able to distinguish between the two. Added Stovane "They very rarely will you find the handling of somebody who is a poor and struggling legitimate artist. For the most part what you find are people who are making a big buck on very cheap low-life material."

In the cramped premises of the Glad Day Bookshop in downtown Toronto, the outlook is radically different. There, a rack of well-preserved homosexual-oriented magazines bears two handwritten notices. One says "Sound sex magazines" and lists about 25 titles; the other says "Censored this week," and lists six. The seized magazines will eventually be destroyed by Canada Customs. But the seized magazines—some with pages ripped out, others with black



Callwood (below) opposing efforts over banning borderline pornography

spaces or black ink obscuring pictures and text—were altered by publishers acting on the advice of Customs officials who preview advance copies.

Customs agents have increased their scrutiny of Glad Day shipments ever since April, 1986, when Parliament adopted self guidelines that ban "obscene" materials from the act of bagging. The guidelines were developed after the Federal Court of Appeal struck down the previous law that Customs had used to ban books because it was too vague to qualify as a reasonable limitation of free speech under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But the precise wording of the new law has resulted in much more controversial decisions.

Next One of the most notorious Customs decisions is a ban against a book titled *The Joy of Gay Sex*, co-authored by Dr. Charles Silvermaster. The collection is part of a popular series of sex manuals that began in 1972 with Dr. Alex Comfort's international best-seller, *The Joy of Sex*. Customs has also banned *The Man with the Pink Triangle* by Helmut Hager, a collection account of homosexuals in a Nazi death camp, because of its disturbing descriptions of how the 39 tortured one young man.

Among the censored magazines available at Glad Day is one with a square of black ink obscuring an advertisement for condoms, which homosexuals now use increasingly to avoid contracting AIDS. Customs has also refused to allow two articles in different magazines that tell readers how to avoid AIDS by practicing "safe sex." Although the reasons for the Customs decisions are not made public, the material previously offended because of its association with "the act of bagging."

Glad Day manager James McPhee says that he always appeals the seizure to customs officials, but that he has rarely succeeded in forcing sealed shipments of books and magazines. Success made sense mid-July when the shop \$8,900. But when Customs was justice minister he defended the toughness of Bill C-114 on the grounds that it allowed what he called "artistic merit" as a defence. However, McPhee said that such pro-

visions will be irrelevant to his case, and added "The reality is that Customs will still seize books, and the courts will still be on to go to court to prove they are not pornography. We don't have the money ourselves to support these kinds of judicial challenges."

Still, a group called the Canadian Committee Against Customs Censorship has joined with the store to challenge *The Joy of Gay Sex* in court. Their lawyer, Charles Campbell of Toronto, is also acting on behalf of a group of film-makers, distributors and exhibitors called the Ontario Film and Video Association Society, which will resume a long-standing battle against Ontario's film censors next month. In 1982 the



McPhee challenging Customs seizures and a ban on *The Joy of Gay Sex*.

society challenged the prohibition of four films at The Tunnel, a Toronto art gallery. The society fought the case all the way to the provincial Supreme Court, which upheld its contention that the vague language in Ontario's film censorship laws was unconstitutional. The province appealed the case to the Supreme Court of Canada, but it effectively prevented the proceedings by writing a more precise law and reconstituting the censor based on the Ontario Film Review Board.

**Twists:** At least part of both cases will concentrate on the important legal concept of prior restraint. Unlike statutes that provide for prosecutions against pornography already being distributed, both disputed laws are designed to suppress material before the public has had a chance to see it.

Borczyk said that "in a democratic society, that is a particularly intrusive exercise." He added that officials do not preview controversial newspaper or magazine articles, even though after publication a court might find that they had violated such laws as the Official Secrets Act. Said Borczyk: "In some parts of Canada it would appear that films with certain sexual content are a greater threat to the public interest than revelations of national security material."

**Adults:** Distributors of pornography have for the most part been silent in the current debate. One reason is that in Canada many of the most successful of them already operate illegally and have no interest in defending the legitimacy of their business. And businessmen who openly distribute what they call "adult" material are often more interested in laws that are discreet, rather than liberal. Douglas Rankine, who distributes U.S.-made sex videotapes mostly in Ontario, says that he has experienced a "dramatic" increase in his business ever since the provincial government passed laws requiring videotapes to be screened and classified by the censor board. The reason is that retailers consider the classified tapes, which bear a sticker attesting to their approval by the board, immune from prosecution.

An Parliament resume this fall and begins debating Bill C-114, there is considerable speculation that the government will amend its most controversial aspects. Even church leaders who fully support the new legislation say that they would be willing to use the "other sexual activities" language disappear. There is also a possibility that the government will introduce an entirely new bill in a new session of Parliament. But Canadians have called for a firm response to their perception that society is being polluted by a deluge of pornography. The federal government seems determined to provide it. Ultimately, it will be up to the courts to decide whether it has gone too far.

—JOHN BURRIS, in Toronto with newspaper reports

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# PORNOGRAPHY ON TRIAL

COVER

For a full six months before the U.S. Congress in Pornography delivered its two-volume report to Attorney General Edwin Meese on July 8, critics were attacking what they assumed would be its findings. That is because in April the commission avoided a lawsuit by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) by agreeing to make public draft reports and other preliminary material, some of which did not even appear in the final version. The controversy spread to senators whose work the committee had concerned. Some senators read draft reports and complained that their conclusions had been misinterpreted. In the course of hearings, four members of the 11-member panel itself expressed disagreements with their efforts and leaks about the study's superficial methods and biased findings made headlines in the press. Indeed, the July issue of *The New Republic*, a respected Washington-based weekly political magazine, published a posterous caricature of the bulky Meese confining only with his suit jacket and short trousers undone. The headline described the porn commission as "That loose and stashed."

**Central:** Although control of pornography has been a national concern in the United States since 1860, when the U.S. government passed the first obscenity statute aimed at halting the importation of so-called "French" postcards from abroad, the issue has been the centre of renewed public attention since the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980. The endorsement of Reagan by followers of religious fundamentalists gave the issue a high profile at the White House. But widespread dissenting of the Meese

commission continued after the release of its report, which made a main-and-effect link between pornography and sexual violence, but failed to prove that pornographic materials are harmful to the public. Public reaction against the report and the deficit in June of an upcoming referendum in

the guidance of chairman Henry Hudson, a federal attorney from Virginia known for his antiporn pronouncements, agreed that "voluntary exposure" to pornography is a cause of "sexual violence, sexual coercion and unwanted sexual acts." Although the panel did not consider any original research, the report states that the conclusions are supported by "clinical evidence as well as by much of the less scientific evidence, and our own common sense."

But that claim was quickly rejected by committee members Ellen Levine, editor of *Woman's Day*, and Judith Becker, the director of the Sexual Behavior Clinic at the New York State Psychiatric Institute. Jack Becker, "I have been working with sex offenders for 15 years, have reviewed the scientific literature, and I don't think a causal link has been demonstrated between pornography and sex crimes."

**Right:** As well, critics pointed out that the commission cited the work of sociologist Murray Straus of the University of New Hampshire to link high rape rates with the circulation of magazines such as *Playboy* and *Franker*. Although Straus acknowledges that there is a relationship between high pornography circulation and rape rates—which range from 2.5 per 100,000 people in North Dakota to 56.3 per 100,000 in Alaska—the social scientist in fact says that the magazines are not to



Becker's Comet Zone: controversy about cause and effect

blame rape victims. "Alaska has a lot of young men, and North Dakota has an aging farm population. Young men are the ones who commit rape and young men are the ones who buy our magazines."

Alan Sears, a government lawyer who acted as the commission's executive director, said that the commission's findings were influenced by the testimony of many witnesses. Among those who testified—the 306 people included about wives and children, divorcee porn star Linda Lovelace, Marvin and 45 law enforcement officials—was a self-proclaimed "victim of pornography" who appeared at a Miami hearing carrying a Bible. 38-year-old Larry Madson, described how his life took a wrong turn when he was 12. Exploring a shed, he found a book of playing cards, which were with hard-core pornographic images. He said that the incident led him into smuggling, masturbation, and intercourse with another teenage boy, sexual abuse of the family dog, reading *Playboy* and watching R-rated films on cable television. The commission, without exception, appeared embarrassed and puzzled by the story, which concluded, "If it weren't for my faith in God and the forgiveness of Jesus Christ, I would now possibly be a pervert, an alcoholic or dead."

already had an impact in America. Last February Meese lawyer Sears sent letters to 25 corporations that sell magazines such as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Sears advised them that, without later identified as that given by Ray Donald Wilkins, head of the Miami

already had an impact in America. Last February Meese lawyer Sears sent letters to 25 corporations that sell magazines such as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Sears advised them that, without later identified as that given by Ray Donald Wilkins, head of the Miami



Meese (left) and Hudson, Howard Square magazine store (below) also

large-based National Federation for Decency—had found them with "the sale or distribution of pornography." The letter asked them to reply to the charge before a master list of porn distributors

**Prison:** And the Meese commission's stern recommendations were relatively limited. The report calls for mandatory 30-year prison terms for convicted offenders of selling obscene material and the prosecution of porn filmmakers under anti-prostitution laws, giving the government the power to seize all the assets of any obscenity-related business. It also recommends a citizens' enforcement campaign, including the prosecution and liquidation of shops selling porn even when the sales are legal. The Supreme Court has taken the position that neither the constitutional amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech and the press, material must be obscene and not just pornography to be



was compiled for the report. Within weeks a number of chains, including Dallas-based Southland Corp.'s 7-Eleven stores, had stopped selling the magazines.

When *Playboy* Enterprises Inc. challenged the commission, a federal dis-

trict court judge in Washington ruled that Sears' letter violated the constitution and ordered it returned. And so much for the impact of the final report. But for the public—their reading of *American Pornography*, which lost new-found space because the May issue contained a single photo of a naked woman—the victory was hollow. Few of the estimated 11,000 outlets that dropped the magazines are likely to rescind them.

**Obscenity:** But the political climate for the report's suggestions is not promising. Less than a month before its release, Maine residents voted on a law that would have made it a crime to have in a society. It was supported by Roman Catholic Bishop Edward O'Leary of Portland and a group of evangelical ministers. The ACLU, however, noted that Maine resident Stephen King and the state's governor, Joseph Brennan, opposed it. On

June 15 Maine's unanimously conservative voters rejected the proposal, 49,000 to 36,000.

The \$48 report itself has become a best-seller. Long lines stretched out from the government printing office in Washington the day of its release. Part of the reason is its often-sensational contents. While much of the 1,900-page report contains poorly printed text, it also includes an appendix of 2,855 porn magazine titles, 725 book titles and 2,899 "adults-only" films—some described in detail. Each of the 45 chapters from the magazine *Pornosexual* last are discussed. And there are scene-by-scene descriptions of such films as *Calderon Don DeLuca*, *The Devil in Miss Jones* and *River Shore Girls*. Barry Lynde, a lawyer for the Civil Liberties Union, who attended most of the hearings, declared, "Although I find much of the material is quite highly offensive, I would nonetheless defend absolutely the federal government's right to publish it."

—GAIL MITTEN in Washington

Film-makers and censors rarely agree on the culturing and raising of movies that feature sex and violence. To explore that often contentious relationship, Maclean's returned to the makers of the New World Pictures movie *Vamp*, its star, Chris Malpas, critics who reviewed it and members of the film review board across the country.

**R**ichard Week says that he still does not like horror movies—even after writing and directing one. But in January, 1988, the New York scenewriter overseas his duties when New World Pictures producer David Berbers presented him with a title, *Vamp*, and some plot ingredients: vampires, strippers and college students. After Week wrote the script, Berbers gave him a \$2.5-million budget, 30 days in which to shoot his first feature film, six weeks to edit it and five days to add the music and special effects. And together they cut rock star Grace Jones as the vampire-curse of a Canadian strip club and a musician actor, Chris Malpas, as a student-college student. The resulting mixture of sex and gore was, Week said, "one of those things that was really whipped out to meet the summer crowd." But a month after its July 18 opening at 46 theatres across Canada, *Vamp* was a commercial failure. By Aug. 22 only Canadian theatres were still showing the film, which was the victim of mixed reviews and indifferent audiences.

Initially, the Ontario Film Review Board rejected *Vamp* on a decision that should have increased the film's popularity as a curiosity alone. But *Vamp*, which boards elsewhere in Canada passed with little comment, emerged soon following its distributor's appeal—their 11 efforts. A lingering death in the theatre. And the whole



Jones in *Vamp*: marijuana, strip-tease, college students, sex and gore.

## HOW THE CENSORS SNIP A MOVIE

COVER

experience left the star actor and the fledgling director feeling that they had gone through a horror. Week says he found enough in the sexual portion of viewing that he had made some cuts to tone down certain scenes of graphic violence.

**Cuts:** On July 8, five members of the 25-member Ontario film board had gathered in a screening room in suburban Toronto to view the 30-minute film. As the five men played, they jotted observations on review forms, not-

ing the time of the incident in the margin.

According to a 1981 16-member James Connors, a 50-year-old consultant in the food industry, everyone scratched following what he called "a very pretty, harrowing scene." When the lights came up, the panel ruled that *Vamp* would require a Restricted rating (18 and over), but only after five cuts, or what the board calls "minor changes."

**Graphic:** One of the scenes the panel wanted out was what three of the five members called the "gratuitous graphic bloodletting" when the Grace Jones vampire enthusiastically and nonchalantly snips the neck of a freshly bitten victim. Another cut demanded was the "pretentious burning of bodies" near the end of the film. But according to Connors, the panel was most disturbed by two scenes involving a murder—a young girl who plays a vampire. New World immediately appealed the restriction, and three days later a new panel gave *Vamp* a Restricted rating with a "horror" warning, but it did not demand eliminations, and Connors, who was an interested observer the second time. "The role of the Ontario Film Review Board is not to be critics. We look at what we see."

Elsewhere in Canada, *Vamp* received similar treatment (although it has not been released in the Atlantic provinces). The four-member Alberta Board of Censors designated it as Restricted but did not call for cuts. After that, it played for only a week at Edmonton's 400-seat Jupiter Cinema, where manager Heather O'Grady said, "People called it 'bored by horror.' And the [Ontario] Saskatchewan Film Classification Board passed *Vamp* as Restricted with a warning of "horror." In British Columbia the three members of the Film Classification Branch of the ministry of the attorney general passed the film with the classification "14 years or older."

But B.C. film classification had fairly sharp eyes on the New Motion Picture Act when censors probably written (three months). That legislation explicitly prohibits a wide range of sexual and violent portrayals on film, from non-specific to overly realistic torture and dismemberment. In Quebec films are never cut, although some are rejected outright each year for portraying sexually violent acts or endangering public order and good morals. After its screening by two of the seven members of the Régie du Cinéma, *Vamp* received a "14 and over" rating. According to Régie president André Gauthier, censorship is no longer an issue in that province. Said Gauthier: "It is not our responsibility to correct Quebec cinema."

**Strip-tease:** In Manitoba, where films may be classified but not cut, the 16-member Film Classification Board designated the film "parental accompaniment"—children under 18 may attend with a parent. The board said the film contained elements of violence, depictions of nudity and sex, and also offered a capsule review of *Vamp*'s strange story line: "These college boys try to hire a stripper for a fraternity party as a task to gain entry. One is killed by a stripper, and the other two are pursued by the vampire's assistant to take the death, helped by an obnoxious and innocent apprentice stripper who knows one of them from childhood. Forewarned deadly premonitions as vampire and reveals all, then murder on a wooden stage. The three escape only by setting fire to the club (impressive) and stand light/fired, but one of the three is also 'infected' and is dispatched in flaming car. Remaining two still perished by vampire as fire, smoke, arrows and daylight to escape."

Although Canadian film boards generally agreed on their classifications, the critics often liked the film or disdained it. Initially Peter Gilpin of Maclean's called it "a glorified slasher of the horror film form, undemanding as most laughter as blood." But Paul McKie of the *Windspeed Free Press* wrote that it was "a real low row of a picture." In the Edmonton Sun, John Charlin said *Vamp* was "mostly formula stuff" and he criticized the film's slick yet over-the-top look. But Jay Scott of the Toronto

Globe and Mail said the film was "B-grade horror" and "lucky, exclusively by phobias, drug-conscious, campy, dumb and outright enjoyable."

**Bleeds:** Week now says that if he had the opportunity, he would shorten the bloody feeding scene and completely remove the burning bodies at the

neck scene. "Because the producers wanted a harder movie based on a comic nightmare, Week says that the result was "a strange mixture of comedy and horror and violence."

Even before the summer rolled on a Los Angeles second stage last January, 20-year-old Toronto actor Malpas was

says that he was read the scenes was the story. Said Malpas: "You're dealing with a strip joint and vampires, so right away you're set up for nudity and violence." And on the set, while makeup artists applied fake blood to actors' necks, he wondered about the eventual product. "It's really hard to tell," he said about acting in a horror film. "It's not real because you know it's not real. When he saw the final version he was relieved that it had not gone too far, although he did not like some of the more graphic touches."

**Gore:** But *Vamp* producer Berbers says that he loved the picture and had no trouble with the gore vampire scene. And he accused film reviewers of being too



Connors, actor Malpas (below): scenes of graphic violence.

and—two of the cuts demanded by the first Ontario Film Review Board panel. Said Week: "It did go a bit too far, certainly for my taste. I can understand people having problems with the



production including *Vamp*. The 19th, Part 11-Ontario gave that a Restricted rating with these alternatives—over 18 years olds like New World. Said Malpas, who also produced the 1984 film *Crimes of Passion*: "Whenever a lot of people go to see a movie, that carries weight with the masses. That's the way it really works." Unusually, Berbers named *Vamp*'s poor showing at the box office an indication from another horror film, *Alien*, which opened the same day. *Alien*, this summer's runaway hit movie, made \$14.6 million in its first 17 days in Canada and the United States, while *Vamp* pulled in only \$1.6 million.

With *Vamp* behind him, Malpas now says he looks forward to acting in the kind of film he likes—drama, romance or comedy. Said Malpas with a laugh: "Horror films are not at the top of my list." And in New York, the film's distributor said he is reading scripts but has no firm plan. Said Week: "The only thing I told my agent was 'No more horror movies.'"

—KEVIN SCAMMON with GREG FURBER in Vancouver, KEVIN DUFFY in Edmonton, DOUG BRENN in Winnipeg and BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal.

**F**ifteen-year-old Scarborough, Ont., model **Mariah Schwartz** has added another first to her sparkling career: Her latest contract, signed last spring with the cosmetics conglomerate Cover Girl, makes her the first Canadian and the youngest Cover Girl of all time. In the eight months since Schwartz won the Ford Agency-sponsored Supermodel of the World contest, she has worked with model/actress **Isabelle Rossellini** and dined with Canadian screen star **Michael A. Fox**. And her ambition—"to do a movie one day, like *Brooke Shields*"—is almost certainly guaranteed. But she said that her biggest thrill so far was "having my first person recognize me in New York. It happens all the time in Toronto. But this was in *Hollywood*."

**A**ctressette actor **Bryan Brown** has been typecast as a renegade in his latest movie, the epic *The Postman According to the Code de Lawrence* adaptation, which is producing the adaptation of the novel *Gravel* novel. Brown plays privateer chief **Dirk Strawn**—a "hardcore, savage Scot-



Schwartz, *Finley* (shown) riding the *Twins*

networks and some cable channels, the 30-second spot features *Pinella* saying: "I'd never turn to drugs. That's no way to deal with things. And if you're that dumb, you'll never be a member of my club." But because arbitrator **Thomas Roberts** turned down a proposed, mandatory drug-testing rule in major-league baseball on July 31, 1990, it is unclear how *Pinella* can be certain that his players are not on drugs. **Feld** says he's speaking **Lee Dargatzis** last week. "Pinella is concentrating on baseball right now."

**S**ince the well-publicized **Joan Rivers-Johnny Carson** fight last May, there has been a great deal of speculation about the future of *tv talk shows*. Last week there was more. **Rivers** says **Mary Griffin** on *Carson* is now a co-host and **Rivers** hired a new co-host, co-executive, 34-year-old **Toronto** **Mary Griffin**. **Recalled** **Brellin**: "Somebody said **Joan Rivers** is on the phone for you, and I thought, 'Oh yeah, who do I know who does a good **Joan**

**Rivers** imitation?" But after two long meetings at **Rivers**'s Hollywood home (**Brellin** denied newspaper reports that he had stayed overnight) the popular **Yuk Yuk** comedy club owner had a new job. "I were a groom down **Yuk Yuk** road **Boulevard**," said **Brellin**. "I was in a frenzy."

**I**t is billed as the "music festival for the Woodstock generation—and show children." Two days into the 11-day **Montreal** **Miller de Montreal**, the gigantic undertaking is living up to its advertising. The sound system calls 200,000 watts of power, and the fans are expected to number half a million. The big attraction, now in town, is the music. **Rivers** **John**, **Heavy** **Leslie** and the **News** and a **Roger McGovern** has version of *The News*. But one audience member says some members of the older generation of rock parents, aerial acts, jugglers—and clowns for the children.

**N**ext week, said the groups of senior producers and the concepts of various levels of editors and reporters, 30-year-old **Mary Lee Finley** will return to *The Journal* from a yearlong sabbatical at Harvard University. But rather than resuming the collecting duties she shared with **Barbara Fum** for three years on the *City*'s flagship current af-



Photo: J. J. Brown

airs show, **Finley** said that she is looking forward to "a new start"—more reporting in the field and less time sitting at the studio desk. "I don't know what will happen a year from now," she added.

—Eated by **BARBARA BUCHANAN**

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Brown, co-star **Joan Chen**; average Scot

man." Said **Brown**, 38. "Australians are a physical, outdoorsy race. I did a lot of my own jumping and falling and in *P&X*. And I can still run down the street without falling over." In *Postman* his greatest trial—replacing his distinctive Australian accent with a Scottish burr—was more of a challenge.

**N**ew York Times magazine manager **Lee Pinella** was especially busy during spring training, but he took time out to film one of a series of antiraid commercials for American sportswear manufacturer **Members Only**. Due to air later this month on the three U.S. commercial

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Crash in Texas: a possibility of tighter safety legislation, higher costs

### AVIATION

## Danger in the skies

**T**he 1980s are unsettling times for airline passengers. Since 1979, when the U.S. government de-regulated the airline industry, competition has increased dramatically as companies lowered their fares to attract more passengers. A U.S. report released in August raised doubts about the safety of an airplane's interior design at a time when many companies are struggling for survival. Then, last Friday Pan American World Airways, the sixth-largest U.S. airline, agreed to pay the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) almost \$3 million in fines for violations of U.S. air safety regulations.

During a two-month inspection of the airline that began last March, FAA officials found hundreds of problems in Pan Am's operations, most concerning its maintenance and inspection programs. Among the findings, certain parts had been used well beyond their approved service life. Pan Am agreed to replace parts that needed repair, repairs were made without the use of approved technical information, and the company did not make its inspection within the required time limits.

And in one case, a Boeing 747 was flown 18 times even though one alternator—a part that provides stored electrical power in case of abnormal engine failure—was out of alignment. Another airline controversy has developed over seat safety. Currently, most airlines provide only such safety measures as overhead lap-shoulder belts and backward-facing seats to flight attendants. In an article in the July 11 edition of *The New Statesman*, former British airline engineer James Castle painted a bleak picture of what would likely happen to a passenger in a forward-facing seat in a crash. According to Castle, the person's head would jam into the seat in front of him and the lap belt might almost cut the person in half. As well, the seats could break away from their floor mountings, unable to take the combined stresses of the occupants and the weight from behind. Said Castle, "Many of the victims of a survivable accident are either burned or subcutted to death after falling to wreckage."

Castle's report coincided with the publication of the U.S. National Transportation Safety Board study, which concluded that lap belts can cause seri-

ous or fatal injuries in certain types of air crashes. It recommended that automobile manufacturers install combination lap-shoulder safety belts for all passengers. Airline safety experts say that has direct implications for them. According to Wayne Williams, president of the U.S. National Transportation Safety Association, one reason airlines do not provide backward-facing seats or lap-shoulder belts is that they fear such provisions would make passengers more aware of the dangers.

As well, Richard Snyder, president of Tucson-based consulting firm Radianair Inc., Tucson, Arizona, said the other concern is that "it is psychologically bad for people to be riding backward and that it is uncomfortable so take-off times aren't viable arguments." But in the mid-1980s, according to British Airways spokesman John Lampi, British European Airways experimented with backward-facing seats in its Trident aircraft, and there was considerable passenger resistance. Said Lampi, "Passengers were prepared to cross promise safety for comfortable travel."

Said Snyder, that neither of the safety measures are likely to be introduced soon because the companies are reluctant to sell insurance unless they are forced to by law. John Galspeth, president of the U.S. Aviation Safety Institute, estimates that it would cost as little as \$200 million to retrofit all 414 airlines with rear-facing seats. Lampi added that changing the seat design would require almost unanimous acceptance by the world's major airlines. But Christopher Whitcomb, director of the nonprofit Aviation Consumer Action Project, is fighting for the development of a testing system of all airlines to enable consumers to discover which company is doing the most to maintain safety.

Meanwhile, the high price that airlines have to pay for seat covers that all possible provisions are taken. To date, Pan Am has paid the largest fine ever levied on a major airline for safety violations, but it will almost certainly be soon overshadowed. At the same time, Eastern Airlines is refusing to pay a \$250,000 fine for 15 violations in fines for thousands of violations. Said Whitcomb, "What we have now are airplanes that meet the lowest one-dimensional measure in terms of safety."

—WILLIAM L. HENNING—  
with WILLIAM L. HENNING in Washington



## Between farming friends

In the worst drought of the century, farmers across the southern United States have lost millions of dollars worth of crops and livestock. In Georgia and North and South Carolina, many counties have been declared disaster areas. While the South anxiously awaits proposed drought-relief legislation, Canadian farmers and a corporation have reached into their pockets to provide short-term help. Last week more than 1,200 tons of hay were shipped to Georgia and the Carolinas and attached to each bale was a card bearing a message: "Gift of the farmers and citizens of New Brunswick, Canada."

For the southern farmers, the only alternative to letting their livestock starve has been to sell the animals before market prices. That inspired Harrison McCain, the 58-year-old chairman of Fluorocellulose, N.B.-based Nova Foods Ltd., to organize a relief program. On July 26, at an annual barbecue for the 500 area growers who sell produce to the company, McCain pledged up to 240 tons of hay to the

drought-stricken states—worth about \$18,000—and he set a provincial goal of 2,400 tons. Within hours, pledges were pouring in. Said McCain: "The Americans are darn good fellows."

They're going to the rescue of the world so often and they don't expect the rest of the world to give them anything back."

The hay is the first that the southern farmers have received from outside the United States. But Larry Williams, director of international trade for the Georgia department of agriculture, who has spent the last month working on the hay relief effort, said he was not surprised at Canadian generosity. Said Williams: "Canadians are like southerners. For the most part they're a very good, caring group."

Indeed, the entire effort has been di-

rected by McCain's employees, and eastern Canadian and American railways have donated boxcars and the use of their lines until Aug. 31. Seventy-one railcars from Fluorocellulose, Grand Falls and other communities of the lush St. John's River Valley have already set out for the South, and at least 50 more will follow before the railways' deadline. Although Canadian relief efforts are deeply appreciated in the South, U.S. agriculture officials estimate that farmers in Georgia alone will need two million tons of hay to feed their livestock over the winter. But the aid drive has reaffirmed that farmers belong to an international community. Said Benjamin Bralor, who grows potatoes and raises cattle in Bath, N.B., and has donated 25 tons of hay: "Farmers are farmers wherever they live. Everybody gets hard times. I've had my share and I know how I'd feel if I couldn't feed my cattle. It would be the end of me."

—NORLA LYNNERWOOD with KATHLEEN HANLEY in Fredericton



McCain: gifts of hay

## Kids and adult drinks

A bright-green bottle set against a background of pink flamingos, palm trees and a lemon-lime sun promotes *Saranada*—The Sparkling Citrus Cooler for Adults!—on billboards in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Officials at the Labatt Brewing Company Ltd. call it "the biggest breakthrough in the adult drinks industry in years." But the pale amber fruit and malt beverage—with an alcohol content of 60 per cent—has caused a growing controversy since last November when Labatt's introduced it in containers that look like beer bottles. The reason liquor laws allow retailers to sell *Saranada* next to fruit juices and soft drinks in convenience stores, within easy reach of children. As a result, the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) has urged all provinces to place beverages with an alcohol content above 60 per cent under liquor control board regulations. And last week the Manitoba government announced its intention to remove the drink from store shelves.

Labatt vice-president of business development Allan Phillips says that CMA officials did not set a conscientious job of investigating the drink before stating the association's position. As well, he maintains that the company developed the drink to pre-

**While critics approve of low-alcohol alternatives, they say it is unethical to allow children to treat those beverages casually**

vide young adults with an alternative to hard liquor. And results of independent tests conducted for Labatt on seven 15-year-olds who weighed less than 145 lb indicated that children who consume two 341-ml bottles of *Saranada* are unlikely to develop significant blood alcohol levels. Said Phillips: "We are prepared to go to almost any lengths to satisfy people

with the safety of the product." Meanwhile, most critics say that the issue is double-edged. Although officials at addiction and alcoholism foundations support the concept of an easily accessible low-alcohol beverage for adults, they generally agree that it is unethical for children to be allowed to treat a drink containing alcohol casually. And although some, including Gregory Reeves, chairman of the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission, say that Labatt's studies are unreliable because they did not test children, their concerns centre on the habit-forming aspect of alcoholic consumption by youngsters. But Henry Schonkals, director of the educational resources division of the Addictions Research Foundation in Toronto, "We're talking about kids sipping a taste for beer as an early age—it's a slick way of doing it." Added Stevens: "They're encouraging kids to develop a preference for Labatt's. I'm worried that Molson's and Carling will enter the same field." But spokesmen at both of those rival breweries say there are no plans to market similar beverages. Still, the concern over kids in search of kids' drinks.

—ANNE STRACY with LAUREN SMITH in Winnipeg

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### BEHAVIOR

## Tempest in a strip joint

**A** s through the steamy Nova Scotia summer, Dartmouth residents have straggled into the sultry and entertaining scenes of the Stranvisher Beverage Room to receive the evening liquidity. But the strip shows inside that pub have heated up a debate on municipal morality in the city, which no politicians describe as a

controversy. Mayor John Savage, who says Dartmouth does not need coddle dances to be sophisticated, asked local lawyers last November to find a way to control strip clubs. But they found that the city has no power to deal with the issue, and the mayor's office has now asked the provincial government to amend Dartmouth's charter to allow



Stranvisher Beverage Room: a dispute over dancers at a clearing-up downtown

"family community." It was almost a year ago that the then-financially troubled Stranvisher began hiring exotic dancers from Ontario and Quebec to attract customers. When business suddenly boomed, two nearby pubs followed suit. But critics claim that the strippers are hurting the downtown, where the city and province have spent \$20 million on improvements, including flower planters and new streetlights. Now the dispute seems destined for the courts.

When Raymond Horner, the executive director of the Dartmouth Dartmouth Corp., which owns 180 area businesses, said that the pubs with strippers spoil the imposed look of the area, Stranvisher owner Raymond Hollett replied that the dancers are not doing anything illegal. And he said his patrons have demonstrated the public's desire for male entertainment. In fact, the lounge outside the tavern sometimes waits 50 m—with patrons waiting as long as four hours on weekend-night occasions, such as ladies' night. And their influence has straggled as far as city hall, where local politicians have also joined the

the municipality to pass a bylaw restricting strippers.

Many downtown businesses, embarrassed by the dispute, are now hesitant to speak with reporters. Still, Stranvisher sales manager Bradley Norbert last week. "They're not going to get any news free publicity at my expense." At the same time, Hollett said, "If the applicants had dropped it, maybe it would have gone away. I couldn't buy front-page coverage like I'm getting." But Horner complains that the issue has made those opposed to downtown stripping look like peddlers, when in fact they simply do not want that kind of activity in their area. Meanwhile at the Stranvisher, the owner predicted that the issue will be resolved in court, and he vowed that he will fight to keep his strippers. Added Hollett, "We have been severely delayed by inspectors from the city, by the tax department, the fire inspectors and liquor inspectors. We must have passed them all with flying colors because we're still here. Show time starts at 12 noon."

—DEBORAH JONES in Dartmouth



Proms Last Night, 1986: champagne, streamers, silly hats and patriotic frenzy

### MUSIC

## Proms of hope and glory

**T** he Last Night of the Proms each September is as British as bawler hats and the Queen Mother—but considerably less proper. Now in its 96th season, the Proms is a series of 60 nightly classical concerts stretching from mid-July to mid-September. On the last night, under the red and gold robes of London's Royal Albert Hall, more than 3,000 rosy concertgoers wear silly hats, wave Union Jacks and toss paper streamers. Called Promenaders, "Prommers" for short, they quaff champagne and, at the evening's end, haul out the hymn to the redoubtable British tunes *Land of Hope and Glory*, *Jerusalem* and *Auld Lang Syne* in a patriotic frenzy. But the subdued behavior of the Last Night is only part of the tradition. With its world-class performers, reasonably priced tickets and relaxed atmosphere, it is one of the world's most popular music festivals. And next week, on Sept. 1, the Toronto Symphony, currently on a European tour, becomes the first Canadian orchestra to take part.

The Toronto Symphony concert features Maart's Piano Concerto No. 21, with Canadian soloist Lucas Lortie, and Mahler's *Symphony No. 8*. Like most Proms performances, it sold out well in advance. The Proms' last seats

cost a modest \$35, and each night approximately 1,000 handy Prommers pay \$250 and \$5 for the privilege of standing-room tickets for spots near the stage. Despite Last Night's craziness, Promenaders have a reputation for being devoted concertgoers. Bold London Times critic Richard Morrison "to stand seaward and motionless through Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is an act of sterling physical courage which no audience except the Promenaders would make."

The Proms tradition dates back to 1865, when London impresario Robert Newman founded the series. At the time he declared, "I am going to run nightly concerts and train the public by easy steps until I have created a public for classical and modern music." The Last Night is in fact a kind of graduation ceremony: the only way to get tickets is to attend at least four other Proms concerts in the season. Newman's training plan has proved phenomenally successful. Last year a record 350,000 male lovers attended the concert. As well, 100,000 people in Britain listened, mainly so Proms broadcasts on BBC radio. The concerts are also carried on the BBC's international World Service network.

Officially known as the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, the Proms take

their name from their first conductor, who led the series from its first season in 1895 until his death the next summer. He assumed responsibility for the concert in 1927. Originally, events took place in London's Queen's Hall, which was destroyed in the Blitz in 1941. Since then the Royal Albert Hall has become the home of most Proms performances.

The premier concert series attracts students, tourists and lifelong devotees from a wide cross section of English society. One is Felix Apperhous, 92, the deputy music editor of *The Sunday Times* Apperhous, who has not missed a season

since 1950, and to stand on the lawn floor for 30 out of the 62 concerts each summer. He now sits in a seat in a box. Most Prommers are much younger than Apperhous, and they dress casually, often attending performances in jeans and T-shirts. Last night, many wore the 1986 season's emblem: the 1986 Sydney Olympic rings. The Toronto Symphony is a performance of Mahler's *Symphony of a Thousand*, said "The support between performers and audience at the Proms is probably unique. It's warm, respectful."

The 1986 season features 60 conductors, 24 orchestras and ensembles, 18 choirs and 161 soloists. The Toronto Symphony is one of only two non-British orchestras taking part—the other is the Toronto Radio Symphony Orchestra—but a conductor, Sir Colin Davis. The Proms audience is one of the greatest in the world, because it is one of the greatest and most attentive. It is a pleasure to perform before them."

The current two-month Proms extravaganza costs an estimated \$2.6 million to stage. But the happy marriage between subsidy and performance seems destined to survive. In a letter to *The Times* after the 25th season, Alfred Ailshamper, president of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, awarded high praise to Prommers. "To play for you was a truly special experience for us. The tension created by this mutual attraction cannot be expressed in millions of words. You applauded us, we fell in love with you."

—PAMELA YOUNG and PHILIP WINDLOW in London

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Fewest, *Hard Choices* depicts and demands to 'take me and tell me you live this'

## FILMS

# Checkmate for a rapist

KYRIEMETTER

Directed by Robert M. Young

When it played off-Broadway three years ago, *Starcrossed*, a chronicle of rape and revenge, proved to be a powerful, redemptive piece of theater. The screen adaptation by playwright William Mastrosimone is equally harrowing—beginning with a scene in which Marjorie Jensen (Farrukh Jirani) climbs into her car in a suburban shopping mall. To her horror, a man in a dark cloak hangs from the back seat, holds a knife to her throat and attempts to rape her. Marjorie escapes, but she leaves behind a wallet containing her address. Later, filing a police report, she pleads for protection. A policeman declares, "You call and we'll be there." But Marjorie discovers that a victim cannot always get to the phone one week after the first attack, when both of her roommates are absent, her telephone turns up at her door.

As her attacker, Joe (James Ransohoff), forces his way into the house, the film enters a more intense zone of terror. Joe's treatment of Marjorie is a sick parody of romance. He demands that she dress up in "something sexy" to play out his fantasy that she is entertaining him. He forces her to cook for him, but then threatens to throw a pan of scalding butter in her face. "Kiss me and tell me you love me," he orders his two-stained victim. His need changes and he attempts to strangle her with a

telephone cord and to suffocate her with a pillow. Finally Marjorie spots him in the eyes with a sea of inside-line. After knocking him out with a lamp, she drugs him in the fireplace, ties him up and impales him behind the grate.

Marjorie's violence is born of desperation. Knowing that she has no legal case unless she can get a confession from him in front of witnesses, she holds her captive until her roommates (Diana Scarfe and Alfre Woodard) return. Appalled, they watch her attempts to make him confess. At first, Joe insists that he is merely an innocent victim of her persona. But Marjorie fights back once more: she seizes his knife and uses his own weapon against him. Joe breaks down and confesses to a number of other rapists. As he tells his stories, screenwriter Mastrosimone achieves a startling moment of compassion for the tortured psyche, revealing what is human in the rapist's character, without lessening the nastiness of his crimes.

Ransohoff, who starred with Fewest in the New York stage production, gives a truly alarming performance as Joe. And as the battered Marjorie, Fewest displays an extraordinary, intense range of emotions. Audiences will long remember her rage and terror—because *Starcrossed* has dragged them through her nightmare.

—LOWMYCE OTTOMER

## Prisoners of impulse

HARD CHOICES  
Directed by Rick King

One night, 18-year-old Bobby Lipscomb (Gary McCarthy), the youngest and most promising member of a rural Tennessee family, volunteers to wait in a truck while his two drug-addicted brothers break into a pharmacy. But when a policeman arrives on the scene, one of the brothers shoots him. Soon, police arrest all three brothers and take the older two to a state penitentiary. From that point on, *Hard Choices*, the first feature film by writer-director Rick King, focuses on Bobby—who, as a juvenile, is held in an overcrowded county jail and on Leona (Margaret Klineck), the naive and idealistic young social worker who takes an intense interest in his case. The film is an intriguing story about good people making bad choices and devastating decisions. After a judge rules that Bobby must stand trial as an adult, Leona jolts a gun on a local sheriff guarding Bobby and escapes with him to Florida.

Unsubtle-born Robert Nicholson produced the film on a budget of only \$700,000—a challenge to both cost and script. Fortunately, both are outstanding. After Bobby's nightmarish confinement in prison, the Florida courts offer a liberating interchange of motion and open space. Bobby and Leona become lovers. McCarthy is convincing as a basically decent youth who unwittingly throws away his future, but the film belongs to Klineck as Leona. A former flower child, she claims that she no longer lives "on the edge"—yet beneath her conventional veneer she remains pathologically impulsive. And John Sells gives a strong performance as a compassionate Southern sheriff—a welcome departure from the stereotypical redneck.

King's complex script resolutely refuses to make moral judgments about its characters. When the sheriff catches up with the runaways and slips the handcuffs as Leona's wish, he tells her if their escape was worth the price he will let them go. It was, he appears to understand. Most action films portray heroes as paragons and villains as the personification of evil. But the people in *Hard Choices* are awfully engaged individuals—the consequences of the choices people make.

—PAMELA YODEN

## ENVIRONMENT

# Hidden threats from underground

In the early hours of April 26, more than 1,000 l of gasoline leaked from a tank lying 60 meters beneath storage tanks into the waters beneath central Saint John, N.B., creating a deadly fire hazard. By sunrise, highly flammable gasoline vapors had risen through four drains into at least four base basements. And when the furnace in a downtown bookstore ignited at 8 a.m., the spark ignited the first of four

country depend on underground water supplies. New Brunswick government officials show that corroding underground fuel cylinders—many apparently installed without rust protection during the 1950s and 1960s—contaminate 100 wells in that province alone each year.

As a result, all three provinces plan to strengthen the regulations governing the containers by year's end—with

Dec. 25, Prince Edward Island officials estimated that almost 35,000 l of gasoline leaked from a living tank overlooking Charlottetown harbor. But provincial officials did not prosecute the giant firm, saying there was no evidence that Irving had been negligent in the incident. In New Brunswick, Environment Minister Robert Buckton also declined to charge the company after the Saint John explosion, saying that a sudden break in a pipe—and not a slow leak—had caused the devastating explosion.

Other oil firm officials say that tougher laws will only work if they are applied equally to everyone. In Halifax, Nova Petroleum Canada representative Edgar Bennett said that Esso will have replaced 30 per cent of the company's 10,000 storage tank systems across the country by 1994. By contrast, Irving officials have consistently refused to release information on the company's plans for tank replacement. Because the replacement of a single station's storage tanks can cost up to \$50,000, Bennett says that owners who are allowed to leave aging, rusty tanks in the ground will gain a unfair advantage. Said Bennett: "If these rules have to apply to everyone or they apply to



Fire damage in Saint John: leaks from corroding tanks, polluted wells and stronger regulations.

very explosion—damaging four buildings and forcing 20,000 residents to evacuate a 10-block area. No one was injured, but the incident dramatically illustrated the danger posed by avoided fuel storage tanks across the country. Kelly Rier, an Environment Canada engineer, estimates that approximately 10,000 of the 200,000 underground tank systems in Canada are leaking at least 15 million litres of oil and gasoline into groundwater supplies each year. Said Rier: "We forget that gasoline is a toxic carcinogen, and if those tanks are leaking, 50 million worth of product is going into the ground each year."

The threat of petroleum pollution from leaking tanks is particularly worrisome for Maritimers. While most Canadian urban communities draw their water from lakes and rivers, the residents of Prince Edward Island, large parts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and most rural dwellers across the

Province of Prince Edward Island beginning to replace new laws this month. Among the provisions in the P.E.I. legislation a minimum \$100 fine for each day operators fail to record the amount of fuel on hand at the island's 115 service stations. But such environmentalists as David Conn, a spokesman for the private, Fredericton-based New Brunswick Conservation Council say that Irving Oil Ltd., a company which controls 50 per cent of Brunswick Canada's energy market—appears more stringent laws.

In 1984 the Saint John-based company refused to join an industry-government committee which helped develop the tougher regulations—a rejection which angered officials from the five oil companies that did participate. In recent years the giant New Brunswick firm has been blamed for some of the Maritimers' most serious fuel storage leaks. In one April last

The Saint John explosion and subsequent leaks from Irving storage tanks—including a 1,500 l spill near Montserrat, 40 km from Charlottetown, last July 2—have all focused attention on the need to prevent fuel pollution. But environmentalists and government critics alike express skepticism that Maritime governments will have the courage to confront economic giants like Irving. Frederick's Conn, for one, said that the tough new laws would be worthless without vigorous enforcement. Added Conn: "The problem of leaking underground storage tanks was referred to as a ticking time bomb by a provincial government report two years ago, but government has been slow to react."

—NORMAN GRAY with SUSAN CALDERON in Fredericton and BARBARA MANNING in Charlottetown

## New thrills on wheels

Every winter for the past five years Robbison Kelly has reluctantly returned to walking as a means of transportation. Kelly, a 19-year-old Toronto high school graduate, is a serious skateboarder who spends up to eight hours a day from March to October on a three-foot-long wooden platform mounted on four airborne wheels. During the past two years skateboarding on streets, alleys and ramps has re-emerged as a popular pastime among the young and agile—supporting a multimillion-dollar sports equipment business. Indeed, the largest gathering of skaters ever held last week's Transworld Skateboard Championships at Vancouver's Expo 86, weighed more than 300 top skaters from 11 countries, including Canada, the United States, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, England, Sweden, France, Scotland, Brazil, Australia and Switzerland. Said Don Harris, a Vancouver distributor of Powell-Perrault equipment, a major Santa Barbara, Calif.-based U.S. manufacturer: "There's just so stopping it."



Skater in Toronto: dry-land surfing

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 **The Coast**  
Georgian Court

Skateboarding, which began in California as a dry-land imitation of surfing, enjoyed widespread popularity during the 1960s and again in the mid-1970s. But 1970s-era skateboarders usually congregated in privately owned parks equipped with "bowls"—the board riders' term for empty swimming pools. There, on the smooth concrete slopes, top skaters often attained speeds of up to 80 km/h. That requires rugged from scuffed knees to broken bones increased insurance rates—and prompted many park owners to shun the sport.

Skateboarding languished until hard-core riders in such cities as San Francisco and Los Angeles helped to reinvent the wheels—specifically, those under the board. Now, surfer preservation of narrow 90 boards with steel wheels have given way to overhauled skateboards that are 13 cm wide and cruise along streets and sidewalks on plastic wheels. Declared 25-year-old Peter Whitelake, a five-year board veteran and owner of Haight's Skate Shop, a Toronto skateboard equipment store: "People used to think that if you weren't ramp riding in a park, you weren't riding. The sport has evolved so much that what top pros were doing five years ago is now considered totally basic."

But weaving between cars and pedestrians can be as expensive and dangerous—form of transportation. A basic board with a licensed Canadian red-neckle deck starts at about \$50 and can go as high as \$350—without such extras as \$70 plastic-wrapped line-ups. Kelly alone has spent \$3,000 on 30 boards and equipment during the past five years. He now owns four different models—for street skating, performing tricks and ramp riding.

Despite parental concerns about street safety, there are many indications that the current revival of skateboarding may be permanent. U.S. manufacturers alone sold \$50 million worth of boards last year—double their 1984 sales volume. And in Canada, distributors supply hundreds of stores across the country with such skateboard paraphernalia as top pads (\$15 on average), helmets (\$45), gloves (\$15) and special shoes (\$50).

There is even a movie about thrashers—skateboarding devotees. Thrashers, a romantic story about a gang of California skaters, is aimed at the thousands of young—mostly male—skateboarders who have been lured by the board's "punk" or "grunge" aesthetic. Said Kelly, who once returned to his board only eight hours after dislocating his shoulder in 1983: "When you live to skate, you skate anyway."

—SARA UNDERWOOD in Toronto



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Mistler: an ingenue caught up in Hollywood's twin obsessions: blood and passion

## BOOKS

# Murder in movietown

### A CAST OF KILLERS

By Sidney D. Kirkpatrick  
(Doubleday) 301 pages, \$28.95

THE LAST FILM OF EMILIE VICO  
By Thomas Givens  
(Penguin Books) 301 pages, \$24.95

**B**lood and passion, Hollywood's twin obsessions, usually remain within the confines of the movie screen. But two new books—Sidney D. Kirkpatrick's sensitive study, *A Cast of Killers*, and Thomas Givens's novel, *The Last Film of Emilie Vico*—deal with the turbulence that sometimes spills over into the private lives of filmmakers themselves. The factual *Cast of Killers* is an understated account of veteran film director King Vidor's attempts to solve a murder, while *The Last Film of Emilie Vico* is a story about a troubled cinematographer trying to solve the mysterious disappearance of a director. The majority of novel reveals much more about filmmaking and the characters that gravitate to the industry, than the sensitive study does. But both books offer fascinating glimpses into the Hollywood of the past.

In a preface to *A Cast of Killers*, Kirkpatrick describes how he stumbled upon the details of Vidor's investigation. The author had been planning to write a biography of Vidor, director of many classics—including the 1946

western *Duel in the Sun*, starring Gregory Peck. Vidor died in 1952, but as Kirkpatrick began cataloging the director's personal records he discovered that the papers for 1947 were missing. After a year of searching, the author reports, he found a strength in a garage. It contained notes from Vidor's secret investigation of the 1929 murder of prominent movie director William Desmond Taylor—a crime which Vidor was closely planning to turn into a film script.

The murder had all the elements of a classic mystery, including a range of suspects with plausible motives for murder and coverup. On Feb. 2, 1929, when police arrived at Taylor's home to investigate his death the night before, they found actress Hubert Norman badly retrieving her passionate love letters to the director. Police also found a nightgown with the initials W.D.M.—which belonged to 32-year-old mistress Mary Miller Miller—in Taylor's closet. No one was ever charged with the crime, but the ensuing scandal rocked Hollywood and ruined the careers of prime suspects: Miller and Norman.

It was only in 1990 that Vidor, recently retired from directing, launched a new investigation into the affair. Relying on his own interviews with by-then elderly eyewitnesses, including Miller, Vidor quickly found his suspect: Charlotte Shelby, Miller's neurotic mother-



Vidor at home, around 1929; from *Duel in the Sun* to scripts about real murders

Vidor's notes outlined a convincing scenario: Shelby so resented her daughter's determination to shake off maternal control and her love for Taylor that she murdered him. But in an interview with Vidor, set designer George Hopkins revealed to him a fact unknown to Shelby: Taylor was a homosexual and her daughter's involvement with him was platonic.

On the morning after the murder, studio executives—nervous about negative public opinion—had placed false evidence such as the nightgown in criminal Taylor's home. Finally, while viewing the transcripts of a lawsuit involving Shelby's co-accused, Les Hiner, Vidor found evidence suggesting that the police investigations failed because Shelby had paid off three notorious Los Angeles district attorneys to avoid prosecution until her death in 1937.

Vidor apparently solved Taylor's murder, but *A Cast of Killers* leaves the reader with another mystery—why the director never publicized his explosive findings. Kirkpatrick says that Vidor's notes indicated that he did not wish to cause the survivors further pain. But Kirkpatrick fails to give enough insight into the character of the man—who had spent six months unmasking a killer—to explain such reticence.

Perhaps above all else more scope than occasion to explore human motivation. In *The Last Film of Emilie Vico*,

Givens takes full advantage of the opportunity. Set in 1988, the novel begins with the mysterious disappearance of Hollywood director Emilie Vico. The police investigate various theories of murder, but none yields a killer. Meanwhile, newspaper reporters speculate that Vico, troubled by a disastrous film about wife, Lisa, has committed suicide.

But Graceland Parley, Vico's cinematographer and the narrator of the novel, correctly suggests that outtakes from Vico's last film, which reveal the director's erratic behavior on set, will offer clues. At first, Parley appears to be an objective narrator. But one of the author's expertly realized themes is that a narrator, like a movie camera, is seldom an impartial observer. Parley himself has much to hide, including the existence of his own capricious second personality.

*The Last Film of Emilie Vico* is rich with masterful touches that deftly suggest emotion. And Parley has an intriguing way of viewing the world—as a movie unfolding in his mind, complete with flashbacks, camera angles and lighting cues. While *A Cast of Killers* looks power despite its fascinating subject matter, *The Last Film of Emilie Vico* elevates a gripping tale to the level of art. From start to finish, it is a spellbinding literary achievement.

—SEAFRITH SHAFRITZ

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# Late-night explorations

COLLECTED POEMS

By Miriam Waddington  
Oxford University Press,  
122 pages, \$24.95

Canadian poet Miriam Waddington has a reputation for being outspoken and nonconformist. By contrast, her poetry is accessible and welcoming. *Collected Poems* is the first comprehensive survey of her life's work, encompassing 11 volumes of poetry published over a span of 30 years. It includes some poems never before published in book form. And the collection simply reveals a quality of her work that distinguished literary critics

Northrop Frye once described as "a gentle intimacy."

Waddington's writing is less well-known than that of her contemporaries, but it has established her firmly among Canada's leading contemporary poets. Her poems have been anthologized in all three Oxford books of Canadian verse—the 1960 and 1967 editions edited by A.J.H. Smith and the 1982 edition compiled by Margaret Atwood. As well, they have been set to music by Canadian and U.S. composers and translated into Russian, Japanese, Spanish, Romanian, Bulgarian and Yiddish.

Yet for years she wrote her poetry

mainly at night. She had married young, at age 21, and had two sons. When she and her journalist husband, Patrick Waddington, divorced, she had to work by day to support her children. As a result, her writing is marked by intensely personal social realism. In the anthology's afterword, Waddington writes that she has always sought to "say something that others would recognize and respond to."

Her dominant themes are the evocation of childhood, motherhood and the inevitability of loss. Covering work from 1956 to the present, *Collected Poems* reveals a stylistic evolution from traditional rhyme and meter to the characteristic short, fast lines of her later writings. Throughout, her poetry expresses a heightened perception of reality. In *Understanding Stone*

(1966), she writes of "Greeting hello/ from a far star/ and a sudden/ness of seeing." Waddington has clearly learned to distill language—until what is left is almost pure.

—LOUISE MCKENNEY

Miriam Waddington cleared a space on the paper-cluttered kitchen table of her suburban Toronto home. Then, she set out heaping bowls of fresh blueberries and raspberries—a

struggle for years to write. Born in Winnipeg to Russian-Jewish parents, whose family emigrated from a post-



Waddington, realist

daily household experience. Peering owlishly over her glasses, the plump poet dismissed her current academic position as writer-in-residence at Toronto's central library, editing the manuscripts that hopeful young writers bring her. She said that the experience has payed her husband: "While male writers are publishing, the women are still saying, 'I don't know if I'm good enough.'"

Waddington herself struggled for years to write. Born in Winnipeg to Russian-Jewish parents, whose family emigrated from a post-

ty of Toronto and in Philadelphia. After her divorce from her journalist husband, she resided, the effort of producing her poetry took "super energy. I would stay up all night and then go to work the next day." It is a quality she still has in addition to her library job, which absorbs three days each week, the 60-year-old Waddington is now planning a compendium of her critical writing, including scholarly essays on such Canadian poets as A.M. Klein. An ardent fan of radio programs on farming, she also admits to a secret passion to edit an agricultural magazine. "I know all about rapeseed," she said with a laugh. Meanwhile, she continues to write poetry—still harvesting her own interests, disoriented garden of verse.

—L.M.

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## Trouble in paradise

SPRING TIDES  
By Jacques Poulin  
Translated by Sheila Fischman  
(Anansi, 188 pages, \$9.95)

A shy translator known only as "Tubby Bear" lives alone on a small island in the St.

Lawrence River, downstream from Quebec City. Protecting the island's wildlife against poachers and taking care of its two old houses, he also translates American comic strips into French. Every week his boat flies in by helicopter to remove the completed *Prochain*, *Torment*, *Dark Trinity*

and other cartoons, leaving Taddy groceries and fresh mail. Although his dictionaries, his elderly tomat and a machine that shoots tennis balls provide his only regular company, Tubby enjoys the safety of his solitude. But when the boat sends a message of intrusion to deliver Tubby's green stewpot, Jacques Poulin's playful and touching novel *Spring Tides* acquires a searier edge.

The first newcomer, a girl called Marie, has a badness for guns, a feral cat and a capacity for love. Marie lifts Tubby out of his emotional shell, making him more vulnerable. Then his island refuge becomes a nightmare as a selfish author, a nearby deaf professor from France, the boat's wife, an imaginative "Ordinary Man" and a mischievous "Comedian Organism" also come to stay. They destroy the peace that Tubby needs to keep his words flowing and his mind at rest, proving with painful efficiency that no man can be an island.

In the hands of many writers, the story would have become a grim parable of modern life, proof that hell comes of other people. But the exceptional grace of *Spring Tides* arises from its unapologetic, even sportive tone. The novel reads as though Poulin had passed beyond despair and rage about human relationships to a kind of sad serenity, a smiling grief. His voice is unique in Canadian writing. An acceptance of the tragic quality of life requires in him both gentleness and power, wit. He is at it, moments, light-hearted and bewitched.

For all its quirkiness, Poulin's novel has social implications. *Spring Tides* was published in 1976, at a high-water mark of Quebec's nationalist agitation, and the book shows traces of that period. The professor, realizing that his fellow islanders are neither French nor American, asks them: "Who are you then?" One of them replies, "We're trying to find out." Poulin quietly describes the baggage of U.S. culture that assuages French Quebec every day, from cartoons about Chicago-style gangsters to the novels of Ray Bradbury and Kurt Vonnegut, from songs about Nevada to dramas of the Oregon Trail. By contrast, English-Canadian references are conspicuous only by their absence.

Although Poulin is among the finest novelists of Quebec, it has taken several years for publishers to release an English version of *Spring Tides*. The delay is difficult to understand, while many Quebec writers use a complex style. Poulin's *Prochain* is readily accessible. His laidback and austere charm make his work a delight.

—MARK ARLEY



Jack Theatre members waiting into Fringe opened. The waiting is over—officially, if it takes one and hour to do that, so be it!

### THEATRE

## Fringe benefits at a drama festival

Inside a beer tent in Edmonton's renovated Old Strathcona District, a beery, red-faced man in a John Deere cap dived up to a tent of loosely dressed drama students. They were lustily cheering *Albion's Night Out*, a play about a frantic hockey player babysitting his child. Albie presided at Edmonton's annual theatre festival, this year called Fringe the Fifth, and the beery man disagreed with the students' position. "You guys might be the experts on stuff like this," he declared, "but I thought that play was good for a few laughs, you know?" Frisk colloquies of critical perspectives were common at the Fringe Cowboys and cultural underclass went to the midnight festival, sampling everything from Shakespeare to slapstick on stages ranging from a converted bar barn to street corners to a hotel basement. The Fringe's founder, Brian Paisley, is a man with a single mission: "To bring to the town the barrens associated with mainstream theatre," he said. "Here, members of the audience can sit down with critics and performers and argue about a play. The setting is un-fussy, friendly, if it takes someone and beer to accomplish that, then so be it."

Paisley, 38, is the bearded, gangly artistic director of the city's small alternate Chinook drama company. The Edmonton Sun has called him the "P.T. Barnum of theatre." His festival is noted for a thriving cross of usual-theatre attractions—everything from clown, jugglers and musical revues to productions by international theatrical professionals. Among this year's surprise hits was Dylan—Portrait of a Poet, which won critical raves for British actor Ray Jones as the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas. Roy Master Boscaw, a musical entry by President Ronald Reagan written by Vancouver cartoonist Gerry Trudeau, Torontoan David Poulin's newswoman play, A Particular Class of Women, which drew on her own past as a stripper, and Suk Theater, a cartooned street tale from Orlando, Fla., whose story-telling performances attracted as many as 1,000 people at a time.

Ironically Paisley says that his inspiration for a free-theatre drama festival came from Scotland's Edinburgh Fringe Festival. Five years ago Edmonton city council slashed its summer theatre budget and asked Paisley to propose an alternate one for the following \$50,000. He found cheap space in then-only Old Strathcona and telephoned friends in the theatre community, offering them stages and technical equipment free on a first-come-first-served basis. All they had to do was hire up and put on a show.

The first year, the public bought 7,000 tickets to 48 plays. Organizers this year expect to sell 125,000 tickets to 130 plays. But the more bare-bones business philosophy persists. Artists pay a \$25 entry fee but get to keep what they make paying the hat or charging a maximum \$5 per ticket. The system works for performers and venues. Calgary's 34, who brought his son John, 7, and Derrick, 5, to the festival, said, "We all enjoy it—and it is cheaper than a visit to McDonald's."

In fact, Paisley's formula has succeeded beyond his expectations: the festival has doubled in size in each of its five years. Critics say that the reality has increased too. Last year, when playwright Kenneth Brown performed his over-the-top play, *Life After Hockey*, at the Fringe, it won such praise that theatre in Vancouver, Kamloops, Calgary and Toronto have since mounted their own productions. Brown was back at the 1986 Fringe with his popular, and controversial, *Albion's Night Out*—wondering the festival's reputation as a progressive showcase of new theatre. In fact, organizers, facing the prospect of an even bigger Fringe 1987, claim that these greatest problems is access.

—KEERY BRYCE in Edmonton

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# Cereal, herpes and Topic No. 1

By Stewart MacLeod

As people with a passing grade in reading know that in this republican rat race called journalism, where a surfeit of figures requires a shortage of facts, there is invariably an *in-Topic* of glowing overpromise.

And before we turn to today's guest in, the redesigning of one Brian Mulroney, you might recall the "God-damn-murderous debats" of 10 years ago. That was definitely an *in-Topic*. With the probable exception of *Roller's Digest*, every magazine in the world was drooling up theologians, scientists and polemicists who, without one additional fact in hand, penned millions of words and banked millions of dollars based on someone's idle thoughts. That, of course, was before the rediscovery of herpes and the subsequent fears that our greatest threat lay not in the hydrogen bomb but in some of mankind's virus.

As it turned out, AIDS quickly replaced herpes to a form of medical Trivial Pursuit. And there is no doubt that our intense interest in the drug problems of America's society system two years ago would have had a longer run had we not turned our collective attention to the discovery that people beyond the age of retirement actually enjoy sex. So for the last 18 months we've been virtual voyagers of the passionate prudential accommodation. "Dear Ann Landers, My 80-year-old lover is coming to see me."

"Dear Richard, Count your blessings, and talk to your minister..."

Dear Ann He is my minister. Incidentally, international *in-Topics* are so quickly identified when any three publications at a supermarket checkout counter mention the same subject. Cereals in *in-Topics* are usually those on which cat interviews must be talking with Toronto newspaper representatives—inspiring *Out-Topics* to the world's regional publications, such as the Red Deer Advocate or The Times of London.

Sorry for this digression, but it was merely to lay the groundwork for today's *in-Topic* which is, beyond dispute, the re-inventing of our Prime Minister. The reference to senior sex was merely, as TV evangelists like to tell us, "an illustration."

Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service.

Anyway, right now, despite some scattered distractions, such as Ed Broadbent's annual productions about an impending \$100 breakthrough or the monthly \$100 polls on John Turner's leadership, the *in-Topic* around the nation's capital is clearly the New Brian Mulroney. As John DeFonaker liked to say, usually about the public's attention for him, "It's everywhere."

What we're getting from this year's summer delirium is a daily wasteful words about an unprecedented modelling process—one that will present the nation with a snip-snap Prime Minister, a firm, directed and decisive high-reading leader who wouldn't be caught dead shirking a team handshake with a touring Korean banker.

No more scandals, no more name-calling, no more unnecessary identification with scary politics. One brief:

**The reference to senior sex was merely, as TV evangelists like to tell us, intended as 'an illustration'**

Here, then in *The Toronto Star*, used the term "boardroom leadership" to describe the new prime-ministerial approach. The Ottawa Citizen talked about a "midterm makeover." "The most noticeable change," someone wrote, "is that the PM will simply be a lot less noticeable."

That, of course, would be very noticeable.

Assorted advisers, officials, aides, colleagues, friends and probably some nannies have been busy exploring how it's necessary to have the necessary surface of Parliament to achieve—notably Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski, who deserves much better—and have The Boss identify himself with nobler affairs of state—perhaps free trade negotiations, constitutional discussions, tax reform. All busy-body stuff.

We have been told, many times in fact, that he will be "cooling the rhetoric," picking fewer fights with the opposition, perhaps making less frequent trips into Parliament—a practice he would have no difficulty performing—and, if possible, travelling more to foreign

countries where, barring the loss of an arm-wrestling match with a hooker or being rickied by an errant bagerist, it's virtually impossible to get a bad press.

The Prime Minister, they say, gets a real bang out of a good press. Meanwhile, we have read and read that more authority will be delegated to key ministers to spread the good news and, presumably, absorb the bad. "The public," said one story, "will see Mulroney mainly when he can safely solve a problem fortuitously or as a controversy decisively by putting his prime-ministerial foot down."

And after reading a dozen or more stories with roughly the same message, not to mention an equally repetitive batch of TV conversations on the same subject, I am pretty well convinced something of the sort must be in the works. However, it seems only fair to admit that, during an earlier *in-Topic* blitz, I was equally convinced that breakfast cereal, when eaten with warm milk, causes herpes.

But what must remain to be convinced about is the Prime Minister's willingness to undergo a rebirth. It's not only a costly chap, he means the shoring up of partisan politics and, furthermore, he's good at it. And amid all the plentiful press about remodeling, it was fairly fascinating to hear his comments on his own popularity. "I was ahead of the party at all times of the country." While not every breathing thing might agree with this assessment, notwithstanding the authority of the assessment, it doesn't sound like someone in search of personal redesigning.

Treble is, there is no way to establish, beyond any reasonable doubt, whether Mr. Mulroney will go into a public relations dry dock before the fall and winter season. No public figure has ever admitted the need for such an overhaul, and the present Prime Minister doesn't look like being the first exception. And should he refuse, after the subject has been so profoundly laid, just imagine the sudden and embarrassing journalistic success that will occur. You just don't develop a replacement *in-Topic* overnight—not even something so gripping as deciding whether Canadian culture is so, under, above or beside the free trade negotiating table.

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